

[4th April 1953]

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ The matter is under the consideration of the Government.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Questions are over.”

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

II.—MESSAGES FROM THE COUNCIL.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I have to announce to the House the following Messages received from the Hon. the Chairman, Madras Legislative Council, dated 2nd April 1953 :—

‘ I transmit a copy of the Madras Lignite (Acquisition of Land) Bill, 1953 (L. A. Bill No. 5 of 1953), as agreed to by the Council without any amendment and signed by me.

‘ I transmit a copy of the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories (Madras Amendment) Bill, 1953 (L.A. Bill No. 6 of 1953), as agreed to by the Council without any amendment and signed by me.

‘ I transmit a copy of the Land Acquisition (Madras Amendment) Bill, 1953 (L.A. Bill No. 7 of 1953), as agreed to by the Council without any amendment and signed by me.

‘ I transmit a copy of the Provincial Insolvency (Madras Amendment) Bill, 1953 (L.A. Bill No. 8 of 1953), as agreed to by the Council without any amendment and signed by me.

‘ I transmit a copy of the Madras Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Amendment Bill, 1953 (L.A. Bill No. 9 of 1953), as agreed to by the Council without any amendment and signed by me.’ ”

III.—MOTION UNDER RULE 22 OF THE ASSEMBLY RULES.

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Sir, I move—

‘ Under Rule 22 (3) of the Madras Assembly Rules, the Madras District Boards (Amendment) Bill, 1953; be taken up first’.”

The motion was put and carried.

IV.—GOVERNMENT BILL.

THE MADRAS DISTRICT BOARDS (AMENDMENT) BILL *, 1953.

* THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to introduce the Madras District Boards (Amendment) Bill, 1953, and move—

‘ That the Bill be taken into consideration at once.’

“ The term of office of the present members of all the District Boards except Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam as extended by the Madras District Boards (Amendment) Act, 1952 (Madras Act VII of 1952), will expire on 1st July 1953. The normal term of office of the present members of the District Boards of Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam will expire on the 29th December 1953. Normally elections should be held before the end of June 1953 to all the 23 district boards whose term of office has been extended up to

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1st July 1953, and early in December 1953 for Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam District Boards. But a new situation of a very serious and important nature, namely, the formation of the Andhra State, which deserves all our attention has now arisen and it is not fair and desirable to throw the entire State into a turmoil of general election at this juncture. Moreover it is not wise to hold elections in the Andhra area now when a portion of Bellary district is to go to Mysore and the adjoining districts of Anantapur and Kurnool are to be reshaped with additions of adjoining Andhra taluks from Bellary nor is it desirable to hold elections in the residuary area of the State also. Thus, Government are compelled to postpone elections and to think of two alternatives, namely, to extend the term of office of the present members, or place the district boards in charge of special officers when the term of the present members expires. There was discussion at great length on the floor of the House when a non-official resolution for extending the term of office of the present members was brought before the House on the 30th of last month. The resolution was defeated. Then the only other alternative is to place the district boards in charge of special officers. Government therefore propose to adopt it. It is proposed to appoint special officers to all district boards from the date of expiry of the term of office of the existing members to be in charge of them until such time as the two new Governments that come into existence hold fresh elections to the district boards at a time convenient and suitable.

“ With these words, Sir, I move that the Bill be taken into consideration at once.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“ The motion is—

‘ That the Madras District Boards (Amendment) Bill, 1953, be taken into consideration at once.’ ”

SRI C. V. K. RAO:—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I believe this Bill is out of order because the motion violates the rule enunciated in the Madras Assembly Rules for purposes of procedure. Rule 60 says—

‘ A motion must not raise a question substantially identical with one on which the Assembly has given a decision in the same session.’

A motion had been brought forward for discussion which said that election to district boards would not be held in July and so the term of office of the existing members might be continued till December. That was defeated. As such another motion that elections should not be conducted and that special officers should be appointed to carry on the business of the district boards cannot be brought forward here in this session. Therefore, I request the Chair to rule this motion out of order under Rule 60.”

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO:—“ I have another point of order to raise, Sir. The Bill before us raises the question of the place of the district boards in our Constitution and whether this House is competent to suspend the constitution of the district boards and

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whether we can do away with the normal and uninterrupted functioning of the district boards. In this connexion, I would like to invite attention to Article 12 of the Constitution which defines the State. It says:

‘The State includes the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India.’

The thing is very clear. Any rule which regulates the suspension of the Assembly is also applicable to the suspension of the district boards. If we take the State List in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution, we will find that ‘Local Government’ is included there. It says:

‘Local Government, that is to say, the constitution and powers of municipal corporations, improvement trusts, district boards, mining settlement authorities and other local authorities for the purpose of local self-government or village administration.’

So, it is clear that the List speaks of the constitution and does not speak of the suspension of the district boards. It does not speak about the abolition of the district boards.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I am not following what the hon. Member says. He is referring to the Constitution and all that.”

SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Sir, I was attempting to say that the rule relating to the suspension of the Legislature applies with equal force to the abolition of district boards. Article 12 of the Constitution speaks with the same force about the Parliament, the Legislative Assemblies and local bodies. Item 5 of the Seventh Schedule (State List) empowers us to constitute district boards and vest them with powers. It does not give us any power to take away their powers or to suspend them. A thing which gives a power would not work for the negation thereof.

“ Then, Sir, Article 171 of the Constitution defines the place of the local bodies and the Legislative Assembly in the matter of election of members to the Legislative Council. The local bodies in this respect are placed on a par with the Legislative Assembly. Therefore, any rule that affects or governs the suspension of the Legislature can also apply to the suspension of the local boards. In this connexion I would invite attention to the Sixth Schedule which mentions about the tribal areas in Assam. Article 16 in the Schedule talks about dissolution of district boards. Therefore this question was there before the Committee which framed the Constitution. What they said was that we as a democratic body cannot do that. As an analogy I may tell the House that even the Union Parliament has no power to suspend this House. So we cannot suspend the district boards, we cannot set aside the working of these boards because they are a part and parcel of the State structure just as much as the Legislative Assembly is a part and parcel of the State structure.

“ Another thing is, a democratic body cannot suspend the democratic working of another democratic body. That is a great principle of law. If this Legislature or the district boards are to go

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out of function we have to invoke part XVIII of the Constitution, that is, recourse should be had to the use of emergency powers. Therefore, my point is that the very same emergency powers should be invoked to suspend operation of the district boards. My point is that our Constitution says that the Union Parliament, the State Legislature, the district boards, the village panchayats are a part and parcel of the same democratic structure. Anything done which affects the working or continued working of the democratic institution must be governed by part XVIII of the Constitution, that is, the use of emergency powers. We are only part of the democratic set-up of the Republic of India and we are therefore barred from doing anything which is anti-democratic, which suspends the Constitution in one particular part of this whole set-up of the Republic. Sir, the latest ideas about democracy seem to be to do away with the rights of the people, to do away with democratic practice. This is severely restricted in the Constitution. I would in this connection also invite attention to the Charter of the United Nations, and the Potsdam decisions. According to the declarations contained in these, nobody, not even the Parliament, not even ourselves have a right to suspend the working of a democratic body or to do away with them and bring about something like the suspension of the Weimar Constitution which brought about fascism. It is worth noting that the Potsdam decisions, and the Charter of the United Nations came into being only after the defeat of Hitlerism. Therefore my point is, our doing away with the district boards or suspending the working of the district boards would tantamount to doing away with the Legislative Assembly and doing away with Parliament even. It is only under extraordinary circumstances that we can use the emergency powers."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have understood the point raised by the hon. Member. He says that the suspension of the working of the district boards would amount to suspending the working of this Assembly. Is it so? "

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—" Sir, I have indicated that in so far as these three constitute together the State, suspension of the one would amount to suspension of the others. The other point is that in so far as the Members of this Assembly and the members of the district boards elect each one-third of the Members for the Legislative Council, we only form different parts of the whole democratic set-up of the State which together with Parliament make up the Republic of India. Therefore these district boards, which occupy a particular part in the whole structure of the democratic set-up, cannot be suspended by anybody. We cannot try to replace a fundamentally irreparable part . . . "

MR. SPEAKER :—" Let the hon. Member finish. I have given him sufficient time to explain his point."

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—" The point is, under the Constitution, we have no powers to suspend the functioning of the district boards or to do away with the district boards even for a minute."

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We do not have that power. This is very clear from the spirit of the Constitution itself. I would also lay particular emphasis on the Sixth Schedule."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The point raised by the hon. Member is now clear. Hon. Member says we have no power to suspend the working of the local bodies which are equal to the Legislative Assembly."

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—" Even the Parliament has no power. It is by the use of the emergency powers that this can be done"

MR. SPEAKER :—" Now the point is as clear as day-light. Let the hon. Member resume his seat. His point is that this House or even Parliament has no power to suspend the working of the district boards. Let me now hear the Hon. the Chief Minister."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, before I deal with the points of order, allow me to tender my congratulations to the hon. Member Sri Krishna Rao and the hon. Member Sri C. V. K. Rao."

(The hon. Member Sri V. Gopalakrishnaiah stood up in his seat.)

" I would request the hon. Member Sri Gopalakrishnaiah to sit down for a minute."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I will give an opportunity for the hon. Member to speak."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Before my hon. Friend Sri Gopalakrishnaiah interrupted my talk, I was tendering my congratulations to hon. Members C. V. K. Rao and Krishna Rao. They have excelled themselves this morning. So far as the point of order raised by the hon. Member Sri C. V. K. Rao is concerned, his contention is this: ' that the non-official resolution which was rejected by this House the other day bars this Bill.' I submit it is so obviously wrong that I need not deal with it at all. The resolution simply disposed of the particular point that was raised. The decision negatived the resolution, that is to say, the extension of the period of the district boards was disapproved by the House. It does not mean that we should not do anything else and the district boards should be left to themselves. It means that we should take steps other than what was proposed to be recommended in the resolution. Apart from technicalities, even from the common sense point of view the resolution that was rejected the other day leads us to this Bill rather than the other way about.

" With regard to the point of order raised by the hon. Member Sri Krishna Rao, I particularly congratulate him. I am sorry he is in this House instead of practising on the writ cases in the High Court. He has shown extreme competence in that matter, and he may win in quite a number of cases. Apart from it, the question is: does the fact that the ' State ' includes every district board, give the same rights to every organization in the State as to the

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Union Parliament or the State Legislature? That is the simple point he has raised. His point is, because the State includes the district boards, the district boards must enjoy the same rights as any other organization, any other Assembly, or the Union Parliament. It is obviously an untenable proposition. The very Article and Schedule he quoted, shows that this Legislature has power to deal with the constitution of the district boards. The word 'constitution' there means, the formation and all things connected with the formation of the district boards. So it naturally follows from the Article he quoted that this Legislature has full powers to deal with the Boards. Otherwise his point would lead to a *reductio ad absurdum*. All normal procedure would become impossible."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Sir, I am sorry the Hon. the Chief Minister has tried to confuse the issue. The issue is very simple. No doubt the Seventh Schedule gives power to the Legislature to deal with the constitution of the district boards. The power is circumscribed with reference to the constitution of the district boards. According to this very Constitution, Members of the District Boards elect members to the Upper House."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I am sorry I did not deal with that point."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Therefore the point is very simple. If the State Assemblies are empowered to deal with the constitution of the Boards in such a way that all the Members of the Boards cease to exist, then the other provision which empowers the Members to elect Members for the Upper House ceases to exist altogether. Then there will be no meaning whatsoever in these provisions, because there would be no District Board Members to elect Members for the Legislative Council.

" The Legislature has power to deal with the constitution of the district boards. The constitution can be framed in any manner; it may be with limited franchise or adult franchise; but the delimitation of the constituencies, the number of members to be elected to the district board and even the powers the district board should have, all these matters are within the purview of the State Legislature. But any legislation which attempts to do away with the elected members of the district boards obviously is something which is repugnant to the very spirit of the Constitution."

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a.m.

SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—" Sir, I have got a right of reply."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member has no right of reply. The hon. Member has not moved any motion. I shall give an opportunity to the hon. Member afterwards."

* SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH :—" Sir, there was a Resolution four days back and the verdict of the House was not to continue the district boards and not to have any other alternative except to go to the polls and get the verdict of the people. Now we are trying through the back door to violate the verdict of the House. The present Bill is therefore against Rule 60 of the Assembly

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Rules, viz., 'A motion must not raise a question substantially identical with one on which the Assembly has given a decision in the same session.' The verdict of the House was to have another democratic body elected and not to extend the term of the present body. Instead of holding fresh elections, the Government now say that we will have special officers. Probably the Hon. Chief Minister thinks that he has already indicated something of this in his last speech. His speech is not binding on the Assembly whereas the Resolution is binding. His speech is always like our speech and nothing else."

MR. SPEAKER :—" If the Hon. Member reads the Explanation to that rule, he will get the answer to his point."

* SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH :—" Sir, the *Explanation* reads :

'The Assembly shall not be deemed to have given a decision in respect of a Bill unless it has either passed the Bill into law or has rejected the Bill.'"

MR. SPEAKER :—" What was passed the other day was not a Bill, but only a Resolution."

* SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH :—" The sum and substance of rule 60 is that there must be no Resolution at all. That is my submission."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Please read the Explanation again."

* SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH :—" I read it twice."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Then the hon. Member has not understood it clearly."

* SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH :—" The sum and substance is, by defeating the Resolution, that we should have elections."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, Mr. Ramamurthi has reminded me that I should say something more in continuation of what I said. Mr. Vavilala Gopalakrishnaiah's last speech is just a further explanation of what Mr. C. V. K. Rao has said and I need not say anything more about that. It is quite clear that a decision against a particular recommendation will bar all other methods of solving the problem.

" As regards one of Mr. K. Krishna Rao's points which I did not touch upon and which Mr. Ramamurthi has referred to, that because there is a provision in some other part of the Constitution or in the Regulations relating to some other organization, under which an electoral right is given to the members of the district boards, we should not touch the district boards in any way whatsoever, I only say this. If the contention is about the right of members who had been elected and who will be entitled, as long as they hold office, to take part in such elections as take place, this Bill will not in any manner interfere with that right. They cannot

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exercise the right when their term comes to an end after June. If the prospective members of the district boards would have had the right to vote in some election or other somewhere, that cannot interfere with the powers given to the State Legislature in the Schedule to the Constitution, to deal with the constitution of district boards."

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—" In further clarification, I would say that the Schedule does not speak about the denial of the constitution of district boards. I would, in this connection, also refer to paragraph 16 of the Sixth Schedule about the dissolution of a District or a Regional Council. The intention of the framers of the Constitution was that there must be certain procedure followed in the case of tribal areas before the dissolution of bodies tantamount to district boards. I would like to know whether even the safeguards that are applicable to the district councils in Assam should be done away with or should be ignored in the case of dissolution of district boards or in the case of a Bill seeking to do away with the district boards altogether. Our State is a 'A' Class State and Madras has produced a galaxy of leaders on Local Self-Government. Therefore our State is entitled to see that we don't have that right at all. The Fifth Schedule does not confer upon us that right and we have only got to put the district boards on their feet and enlarge their powers. We cannot curtail their rights and we cannot do away with the constitution of district boards. We can do it only under emergency provisions. There was a precedent in history when the district boards were superseded during the war. Sir, it is strange for a Government calling itself democratic and arrogating to itself the right to do away with the district boards, or crying for a democratic order on the one hand and doing away with the democratic bodies on the other. I therefore submit that this cannot be discussed by the Assembly."

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—" Sir, I want to say a few words in elucidation."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I will call the hon. Member afterwards."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Sir, it is not a question of some prospective member of a district board being denied the right of electing a member to the Upper House and we are not concerned with it. Suppose there are going to be a number of vacancies after June in the Upper House from among the members who have been elected by the district boards; it is not a question of the prospective members of the district boards having the right to vote or not. How is the Upper House going to be constituted if there are no district board members to elect their quota of members to the Upper House? "

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, the right is given to certain persons holding certain positions; the right is to be exercised by those who hold certain positions and it is intended for those people. It is not as if those people are intended for the exercise of the right. My friend seems to think that because a certain right is given to people of certain standing, we must be creating

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people of that standing in order that that right may be exercised. Because teachers have a vote as teachers, it does not mean we cannot close any school."

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a.m.

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Sir, I am sorry the fundamental question involved in this is still missed. (Interruption from the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari.) If all the schools are closed down and if all the teachers are sent out, that is certainly a matter within the purview of the Constitution. The point is where a State is to be governed under the Constitution by two Houses, the Lower House and the Upper House, and where the Upper House is to be constituted in a particular way, whether this legislation can be enacted to see that the Upper House or a part thereof is altogether abolished. That is where the present legislation will lead to. And when no members are going to be elected because there is no constituency itself, then it seems the Upper House which has got to be constituted in a particular way has ceased to be constituted in that particular way. That is the position, Sir."

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—" My question is straight, Sir. If a member who has been elected from the district board constituency of the Upper House resigns to-morrow and a vacancy is created, who will form the . . . "

MR. SPEAKER :—" Not only district boards; ' local bodies ' includes union boards, district boards and other boards too.

" Now I wish to know whether the Hon. Chief Minister wants to say anything? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I do not think, Sir, I need add anything more."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Sri C. V. K. Rao and Sri V. Gopalakrishnaiah raised the point that simply because the House has passed a resolution the other day the House has now no power to deal with this Bill. They have not, I am afraid, studied the Explanation given to rule 60. The Explanation says : ' The Assembly shall not be deemed to have given a decision in respect of a Bill unless it has either passed the Bill into law or has rejected the Bill.' What the House passed the other day was a resolution and not a Bill. Now, we are dealing with a Bill. The House is entitled to deal with it, and it is not repugnant to the rules here."

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—" Whether it is a Bill or a resolution, it is the same, because it is a motion before the House. It makes no difference whether it is a Bill or a resolution, so long as a decision has been arrived at. I would therefore request . . . "

MR. SPEAKER :—" Let the hon. Member read the rule; he need not request me to do anything."

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—" Then what is a ' motion '? A motion is anything moved, whether it is a resolution or a Bill, which comes up before the House. Here too it is a motion."

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MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member has not understood the difference between a resolution and a Bill. That is all I can say. For the matter of that, a Bill is a motion, an amendment also is a motion and a resolution also is a motion. And what you have passed the other day was a resolution. Here in the Explanation, however, it is said ‘ The Assembly shall not be deemed to have given a decision in respect of a Bill unless it has either passed the Bill into law or has rejected the Bill.’ So, the point raised by the hon. Member is out of order.

“ Again, Mr. Krishna Rao has raised a point of order that this House has no power to pass this Bill because in his opinion it nullifies the Constitution. In my opinion, however, the House has power to deal with this Bill. I rule that the point of order raised by Mr. Krishna Rao is also out of order. The Hon. Minister will now move that the Bill be taken into consideration.”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—“ I have already moved the motion, Sir.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Mr. C. V. K. Rao will now move his amendment.”

AN HON. MEMBER :—“ May I know how much time will be allowed for each member? ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Let us see how the Bill progresses. Then we shall be in a position to fix the time.”

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—“ Sir, I move the following amendment :—

‘ For the words “ at once ”, substitute the words “ six months later ”.’ ”

SRI K. RAJAGOPALA RAO :—“ I second it.”

SRI K. P. GOPALAN :—“ Sir, I move the following amendment :—

‘ That the Madras District Boards (Amendment) Bill, 1953, be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon.’ ”

It was duly seconded.

SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN :—“ Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name, viz.,—

‘ That the Madras District Boards (Amendment) Bill, 1953, be referred to a Select Committee.’ ”

It was duly seconded.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Now the main motion as well as the three amendments are before the House for discussion.”

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH :—“ My amendment, Sir.”

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MR. SPEAKER :—" Please read out your amendment."

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH :—" Sir, my amendment is this :

"For the words "Special Officer", substitute the words "constitute every district board . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Let these three amendments be disposed of first. We will then take up your amendment. I am afraid the hon. Member has not realised that he has given notice of an amendment to a clause, and not to the motion for taking the Bill into consideration."

SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—" I have given notice of an amendment, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER :—" An amendment of a similar nature has been moved by Mr. Gopalakrishnan."

SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—" I wanted to bring it to your notice lest it goes away unnoticed by the House."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The whole thing has been roneoed and circulated to the Members of the House. The hon. Member's amendment is similar to the one moved by Mr. Gopalakrishnan."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" Sir, the motion is that the Bill be taken into consideration at once and some amendments have been moved. My point is this : I propose to oppose the motion itself completely. If that is taken up first, there will be no need to discuss these amendments now. They can be taken up after my motion is disposed of first."

MR. SPEAKER :—" But suppose that motion is dropped, it will be a waste of time to take it up now."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" I do not think so, Sir; we are confident that as the general opinion has been already expressed by the House, there is every possibility of the main motion being defeated in the first stage itself."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" If that is disposed of first, we will be, on the other hand, saving a lot of time."

MR. SPEAKER :—" By discussing the amendments first, we will be saving a lot of time."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" If the motion to take it 'at once' is defeated, there will be no further question to be discussed."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The main motion has been moved by the Minister for Local Administration and the other motions are amendments to that motion. All of them shall be taken up together."

* SRI K. R. SAMBANDAM :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, in support of the amendment, I want to say a few words. This is a very important subject. After the general elections, we have not yet held any elections to the district boards, and we want to continue

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the present kind of local administration. The administration can be entrusted to special officers provided there are advisory committees consisting of M.L.As. in the district to assist the Special Officer. Then only it will be possible to administer the local boards in a fairly efficient manner. During the last election I was elected as a member of the district board. I was there for about a year and then my election was set aside and for three years there has been no member to represent Sembanarkoil and Periyar range. The authorities have not come forward to conduct fresh elections. The president and members have been there for a very long period and they do not care for public opinion; they get on with their own administration as usual, and nepotism and favouritism are prevalent everywhere. That is why I suggest that there should be an advisory committee in addition to the Special Officer.

"Coming to the question of local board teachers, I submit that the teachers are being used for canvassing votes for district board members and the president. For each and everything they want the teachers to work for them. The teachers are there only to teach the students in the schools and not for participating in any public activities. If the teachers do not obey them, then they are transferred according to the whims and fancies of the president and they do not adopt any democratic principles in running the administration. So far as the Tanjore District Board is concerned, the president has been seriously ill and naturally in his absence, all powers must be exercised by the vice-president. No such thing was done; the administration is now being run by an ordinary member and for the past seven or eight months he has been all in all there. I submit this state of things ought not to be allowed any longer. Even in this Assembly, if the Hon. Speaker is not here, it is the Deputy Speaker who occupies the Chair. In the same way, I submit the vice-president must be allowed to administer the board whenever the president is ill or is absent. That is why I say, after this experience, there is no use of extending the life of the present boards. A Special Officer, of course, will be necessary, but I suggest that an advisory board should be constituted to assist him in the administration. Otherwise, I am sure the board's administration will tend to be a dictatorial one. The man at the top will not care for public opinion and will do things according to his own whims and fancies.

"Again, Sir, many schools have been closed and many teachers have been thrown out of employment, and yet we find many schools are being started. I do not know what the reason is for closing the schools in certain areas and opening schools in certain other areas. The policy of the Government must be to educate more and more people. If not, at least they have to continue the old schools, but, even that they are not doing. So, I say this mal-administration should not be allowed to continue for a very long time. 10-20 a.m.

"Another point I wish to say in this connection is that all the members of the district boards are Congressmen. So, they can give

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every support to the members who are elected as Congress candidates. Of course, in certain cases, Independents also get elected and they also participate in the administration of local boards, but their requests are not at all considered. For instance, there are many village roads which have not at all been taken care of and the result is the villagers get no benefit from them. Even small bridges are not cared for, in spite of the representations of the villagers and members to the presidents of district boards concerned. So, Sir, if real relief is to be given to the villager, it can only be done by conducting fresh elections. If that is not possible, at least Advisory Committees should be formed in each district board in order to help the special officers. With these few words, I resume my seat."

* SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"Sir, this Bill is very unnecessary. That is my feeling. In the Statement of Objects and Reasons to the Bill it is stated 'pending the formation of the Andhra State it is considered unnecessary to hold elections to the district boards this year.' The point is this. The Government feel that it is unnecessary to hold the elections. Of course, it is not a question of ability or inability to hold the elections. Why the Government feel that it is unnecessary to hold the elections is by itself a mystery. I am afraid that this feeling is due to the fact that they want to stabilise their position first before holding the elections. Probably the results of the last municipal elections and also the panchayat board elections—even though they were held in an open form by lifting of hands—has had a shocking effect on the Government that they do not want to hold the district board elections here and now. They are trying to consolidate their position still further before the elections are held. But the point is, will the Assembly allow this kind of attitude on the part of the Government? They say 'it is unnecessary to hold the elections this year.' They do not say that they find it impossible to hold the elections. As I have already pointed out, the Statement of Objects and Reasons says 'Pending the formation of the Andhra State it is considered unnecessary to hold elections to the district boards this year.' (The Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari: 'It should be "undesirable" and not "unnecessary"'.) The wrong word has come there only, after it has crept into the heart of the Government. So, the heart of the Government has come straight into paper in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. Now, Sir, my point is this. Why is it unnecessary to hold elections? My contention is that it has been considered unnecessary by the Government because of their recent experience in the municipal elections wherein the Congress found itself in a tight corner and did not get elected anywhere and only Independent candidates got elected, and also on account of their experience in the panchayat board elections where also the Congress found itself in a tight corner even though the elections were conducted in an open fashion by show of hands. These are a pointer to the Government as to what the future elections to the district boards are going to be. Hence this political manœuvre. Manœuvres of this type should not be allowed to go unchallenged. I therefore appeal to the members of the Assembly, to all the democratic members, who

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had liberty to vote as they liked the other day—to get the same liberty to-day also and see that they vote according to their conscience and defeat the Bill so that the elections may be held immediately. (The Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari: 'Do not lay too much stress on a misprint'.) That is the attitude of the Government and I am measuring the attitude of the Government by a correct thermometer.

" Now, Sir, the second point I would like to mention is this. This Bill has to be defeated and should be defeated by every conscientious Member of the Assembly because when we passed the Bill on the last occasion the idea was that the elections would be held before the end of June. Now, the Government have postponed the elections without consulting the Legislature. Why should they postpone the elections against the wishes of the Assembly? Where is democracy in thus trying to postpone the elections which were ordered to be held by the unanimous voice of the Assembly when we met last time? Now this action of postponing the elections is a complete disregard of the voice of this Assembly. Now again, this disregard of the views of the Assembly is going to be extended still further and we are asked to condone it. That is not democracy. I therefore appeal to hon. Members to oppose the Bill. In fact the elections could have been over before the end of June and nothing could have come in their way. Even now I can say, as I said in my previous speech when I spoke on the resolution the other day, that we on this side will be ready to co-operate with the Government in seeing that the elections are finished as early as possible and we guarantee that they will be held in a most peaceful and orderly manner. We give this co-operation and it is very important that the Government should take the hand of co-operation and go forward with the holding of elections immediately without saying 'look here, we are not going to hold the elections till the Andhra State is formed and till we consolidate our position in both the States. It is only after we sit firm in the saddle we will hold the elections; let me see what you are going to do?' That is not the way and the manner in which the Government should function and postpone the issue.

" Lastly, Sir, the point to be understood in this connection is this. There is the eagerness of the Government for a bureaucratic set-up. It is there. I would like to know why the Government should be so eager for a bureaucratic set-up. Last time when we defeated the resolution for the continuance of the powers of the presidents of district boards, we did it only with the intention of seeing that this Bill also is defeated. Of course, hon. Members would ask me, why? At that time I thought the Government would not press the issue of either the continuation of the district boards or the presidents and the appointment of special officers. That was a very important thing. Then, the only question was, the defeat of the resolution automatically meant the continuation of the Act that was passed already last November or December. That is to say, the Government should go back to the original Bill, see that the elections are held immediately. That was the natural

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10-30 a.m. corollary of the defeat of the non-official resolution. We thought that the Government would take note of it and act accordingly. But they did not. The question that is now posed before the Assembly is whether it wants the appointment of special officers. Let all the 375 Members think about this matter very carefully and closely. If a close examination is made, I am sure they will realise that decency and democracy require that this Bill should be thrown out. This will pave the way for the holding of elections and enable the newly-elected district boards to come into office at least by August or September. I commend that this Bill should be defeated and thereby widen the conception of democracy to which we have been accustomed in this Assembly."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Sir, with your permission I wish to intervene at a very early stage of this debate in order that we might be able to understand one another better than we seem to be doing just now. I am hoping that we shall deal with this Bill in the spirit in which I desire that it should be dealt with. On a previous occasion we discussed this matter thoroughly and decided that the boards which existed and operated should continue till the end of June this year. That was in November or December. At that time we had no idea that we would be precipitated into the Andhra partition problem. That has happened now and a new situation has arisen. The only alternatives were to hold elections if possible, to continue the existing presidents and members if elections are not possible, and to appoint special officers for such period as elections could not be held. Sometimes prolonged deliberation leads to clarification and sometimes to the opposite of it. We have discussed this matter so long that I think a little re-examination has become necessary since matters have got confused. On the non-official resolution moved the other day, every Member voted freely apart from party considerations and the resolution was lost by a small majority. The question posed in that resolution was whether we could agree to the compromise of extending the lifetime of the present boards, and that was negatived by the House. Starting from that point, we have to decide what we should do next. The hon. Members—I hope they will not misunderstand me if I name them—Messrs. K. Krishna Rao and C. V. K. Rao are in the habit of suspecting the motives of the party to which they are opposed and imagining that every Bill that is brought before the House is intended to further the interests of that party. I am intervening at an early stage of the debate for the purpose of denying the existence of any such motive and for requesting the hon. Members to accept my assurance in that matter. I assure the hon. Members who are not in contact with the Members of my party who hold the office of the president of the district board in their respective districts that they do not desire to continue and they are clear in their minds. They have nothing to gain by continuing in office. If there was any wish to continue, that had ceased to exist after the House gave its verdict on the non-official resolution the other day. They do not wish to continue, if for no other reason, for the reason that it is not a pleasant task. The second reason is the financial condition of the district

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boards. They are shrewd enough to understand that the longer they continue in office, the greater will be the difficulty in remaining as popular as they are now. There is no interest whatever either moral or political which makes them desire to continue in the present state of things. It may be taken for granted that they do not wish to continue. The only question we have to consider now is whether we should have Special Officers or whether we should hold elections. Let us not harp on the motive of continuing in power. It is said or believed or feared or apprehended, whatever the appropriate word may be, that the party to which I belong hopes to consolidate its position by having Special Officers. That is not the way in which the Congress Party has been acting. At any rate, the tradition of the leadership in the Congress Party has been quite different and the leaders will not be moved by such considerations. All that they want is fairness, justice and a tolerable amount of good administration if possible. The last Member who moved an amendment and spoke made it clear that from his point of view the district board presidents were misusing their position. The Special Officers were often referred to as a caste by themselves. They are not a caste. Who are the Special Officers that are proposed to be appointed? Permanent Government servants who are amenable to the discipline which the Government impose upon them, who are governed by permanent rules and whose activities will be subject to examination and debate in this House from time to time. They will be Collectors, Deputy Collectors or people like that—people who are given and are holding responsible positions in the State. Collectors are responsible Government servants. They are allowed to continue in the districts and we do not want to dismiss them. So also, the Revenue Divisional Officers and other officers who are proposed to be appointed as Special Officers are persons who have been found fit. If we trust the Collectors, the Revenue Divisional Officers, etc., who are dealing with the lives of the people all round and in all respects to the very large extent that we are now trusting, how is it that we object to their appointment for conducting the activities falling within the scope of the district boards? I have a shrewd suspicion that this is not an objection to the Special Officers or their character, temperament or capacity but an objection to losing power to some extent from our own hands. When we tolerate Collectors and other officers who are in charge of the magistracy, lands and several other things, we object to their doing the few functions of district boards like running of schools and dispensaries, laying of roads, etc. Even under the present arrangement, district board schools are managed more by the Education Department than by the district board, and the roads are managed more by the Public Works Department than by the district board. What is it that we lose by entrusting this work to Special Officers for a brief period? Nothing. That is why I expect that the House will accept a temporary arrangement of this kind. However there is the apprehension and I recognize it that the Government will prolong the life of the Special Officers so that the popular representatives may not come in. I can only say 'no' to that, and ask hon. Members to accept what I proceed to say in that connection.

10-40
a.m.

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I have no doubt in my mind that I would be doing an injustice if I induce my Cabinet and the House to take up the question of district board elections immediately. It is not ordinarily undesirable. It should be very good ordinarily to hold elections. But I am firm in my opinion, and I am clearly convinced and strengthened in that by such consultations as I have held, that it is not desirable to push this local issue—it will be a parochial issue in the district—to the forefront now and throw the Andhra State that is to be newly constituted into an election—a general election in the sense of its widespread character, but parochial in the sense of the particular issues for which the election is to be held in each place. I think I will be doing something more unfair if I did that than anything that is wrongly attributed to me now in respect of the formation of the Andhra State. So many charges are made against me regarding the Andhra State which are very unfair, and I do not wish to go into them now. I am clearly convinced that, if I allow myself to be convinced that we should hold elections now, and if I should order elections now, I would be doing substantial injustice to the Andhra State. I have no doubt about that in my mind. I say once again that I am confirmed in my opinion by such consultations as I have held in the matter. But I promise on behalf of the Government and whether I am here or not, they will carry out the promise that I make now, namely, that, apart from a general order, in each district from time to time, whether it be in the Andhra or the Residuary State, as soon as it is conveniently possible and becomes desirable, elections will be held. The Bill that is now moved does not fix a time limit or a definite period for the appointment of the Special Officers. The fear is that it may be prolonged. That is why I make it up by saying that it is limited by the promise of the Government that as soon as possible and when the Government think it practicable and desirable to hold elections in any district they will hold the elections. If this assurance is not to be accepted, then we cannot understand one another. It is on the basis of this understanding that I asked my colleague to move this Bill, and I shall not just now proceed with this point. I say that the tradition of the leadership of the party to which I belong is not to be led away by partisan interest. We shall do our best to prevent error. I gave a definite assurance that elections will be held as soon as possible. Some Members of the Opposition said that elections could be held at once and now. I beg to differ from them. It is not possible to hold elections now. Elections will only make matters worse, and they will not produce good feeling. They will produce confusion and nothing else. We must have patience, and we must wait till at least the preliminary processes of the partition are over and a peaceful atmosphere is created for the constructive work that is necessary for the new State. It should be possible to hold elections then (Interruption.) I want hon. Members to drop that complex and to accept what I suggested. If I am proved to be wrong, then it will be easier and time for the Communist Party to say 'here is a statement made by such and such a person; I expressed my apprehensions then, and my apprehensions are proving true; hereafter, do not trust the Congress at all.' I am only giving hon. Members a further opportunity to strengthen their party. But I hope that

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such opportunity will not arise, and it will not arise. I am certain about it, because my promise will be respected. Of course we can misunderstand one another. The Andhra State will not take long to be formed. Some, of course, will think that even the preliminary steps that we are taking in respect of the formation of the Andhra State, are intended to delay or procrastinate. The Andhra State will be formed, and I hope the Members of the Opposition who can help in the matter will bring about a state of affairs by which the Andhra State can begin to function even in July. There is nothing very difficult in re-adjusting the dates. (Cheers.) If that is done, this particular business of district board elections is only a flea-bite. If once the Andhra State is formed, hon. Members now sitting on the Opposition will be there in sufficient numbers commanding great influence, and they will be able to compel an early democratic step being taken to which they are entitled under the Constitution as has been repeatedly admitted on all hands. I want hon. Members to pass this Bill understanding the things that I have said and not to misunderstand and unnecessarily entertain apprehensions for which there is no justification. This is a very necessary compromise that we have to make. I admit that ordinarily district boards should be run by elected representatives. Last time Mr. T. Viswanatham and I agreed that the period of the district boards should be extended till the end of June. I had every hope that elections would be over by that time. But within 15 days of that settlement, this Andhra State agitation took a particular form and we could not possibly get it out of the way. In January and February things were at their climax, and now the Andhra State formation is going on. Statements have been published, and Committees have been going on. We all feel that there will be no difficulty and the new State will soon be starting. I find very good symptoms. I should not attach undue credence to what appears in the Press. But the signs are clear that the Centre is willing to help the new State in a liberal manner to put it on its feet as they should. It will give me the greatest pleasure to see that Andhra State functions from as early a date as possible. But I am asking to-day that this necessary compromise should be agreed to in the spirit in which it is proposed, the compromise that since the House has expressed its opinion by a small but clear majority that we should not have an extension of the term of the district boards, and since elections are undesirable ('unnecessary' is not right), and since in one part of the State (which is not a small part) there are even boundary divisions still to be settled, let us agree to the appointment of Special Officers. We shall agree on the understanding that the Government undertake, as soon as possible (no period, maximum or minimum, is fixed it is left to their honour) to hold elections even in any particular area, apart from the general election. I give that assurance, and I hope that the Bill will get through smoothly, so that there may be no doubt as to the assurance that I have given. If we go on discussing the assurance, we reduce the value of the assurance. I want hon. Members to take me at my word, and give cent per cent value

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to the assurance that I have given, and demand the pound of flesh afterwards when they are in a position to demand it."

(At this stage the Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair.)

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" The point is that when we have decided to divide, after the division, I am afraid, whether this assurance of the Hon. the Chief Minister on the floor of this House where we are now both together, will be accepted by the other House."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, I here and now bequeath all my spiritual influence to the hon. Member Mr. Nagi Reddi in that matter. He should not be down-hearted."

*** SRI C. KANDASWAMI** :—" கனம் உதவி சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, கனம் எதல் ஸ்தாபன மந்திரி அவர்கள் இப்பொழுது கொண்டுவந்திருக்கக் கூடிய இந்த மசோதாவைப்பற்றி கனம் பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்கள் சில விளக்கங்களை தெரிவித்தார். உதரணமாக பொதுஜனங்களுடைய நம்பிக்கை, இன்று இருக்கக்கூடிய நிர்வாக நெருக்கடி, ஆநதிர மாகாணப் பிரிவினை முதலிய காரணங்களால் இந்தத் தேர்தலைத் தள்ளிவைக்கவேண்டியதாக இருக்கிறது என்றும் வேறு ஒரு காரணமும் இல்லை என்றும் குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறார். இந்த சண்ணுட்டத்தில் அதை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால் இப்பொழுது வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கக்கூடிய இந்த மசோதாவை நான் முழு மனதான் எதிர்த்தேன். இன்றைய நிலைமையில் ஜில்லா போர்டு நிர்வாகம் எப்படி நடக்கிறது, இதன் வருமானம் என்ன என்பதையெல்லாம் எடுத்துக் கொள்ளவேண்டும். நிர்வாக வேலைகள் பொறுத்தவரையில் குறிப்பாக ஒன்றாம் செய்யப்படவில்லை. எனைப் பொருத்தவரையில் நான் தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவிலிருந்து வருகிறேன். இந்த ஜில்லா போர்டு எந்த அளவு கிராமப் புறங்களில் ஆதிக்கம் செலுத்திறது. ஜில்லா போர்டு ஸ்தலவரி முதலியவைகளை வசூலிக்கும்போது கிராமங்களில் எவ்வளவு ஆதிக்கம் செலுத்திறது என்பது நாம் ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் அங்கிருந்து வரக்கூடிய அங்கத்தினர்களுக்கு நன்கு தெரியும். எங்களுடைய ஜில்லா போர்டு சரித்திரத்திலேயே ஏற்கனவே 15 வருஷங்களாக ஓரே President இருந்துவந்தார். அதன் பிறகு இப்பொழுது இருக்கக்கூடிய President-ம் சமர் 15 வருஷமாக இருந்து வருகிறார். இந்த மாதிரி இந்த ஜில்லா போர்டு ஒரு தனி நபரின் சொத்தாக பாபரலிக்கப்பட்டுவருகிறது. தஞ்சை ஜில்லா பொருத்த வரைக்கும் 30 வருஷங்களாக ஸ்தல ஸ்தாபன சரித்திரத்திலேயே இது பிரதிபலித்திருக்கிறது. இந்த நிலைமையில்தான் இன்றையதினம் தேர்தலானது மிகவும் முக்கியத்வம் வாய்ந்துள்ளது. இப்பொழுது முதல் தடவையாக 18 வயது வந்தவர்களுக்கெல்லாம் வாட்டுமை அளிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அதன்படி இப்பொழுது தேர்தல் நடத்துவது அவசியம் என்பதை சுட்டிக்காட்டிவிடும்புகிறேன். 1949-ம்ஸ்டீ தேர்தல் நடந்தபோது எங்களால் அதில் பங்கு எடுத்துக்கொள்ள முடியாமல் அடக்குமுறையை கையாண்டு தேர்தல்கள் நடத்தப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன என்பதை எடுத்துக்காட்டி விடும்புகிறேன். இதையெல்லாம் மனதில் வைத்துக்கொண்டுதான் மக்கள் ஓரளவில் ஜில்லா போர்டு தேர்தலை நடத்துவதில் அக்கரை காட்டுகிறார்கள். ஒவ்வொரு கிராமத்திற்கும் முதல் மந்திரி அவர்கள் சென்று பார்த்தால் இந்தக் கிராமங்களில் எந்த அளவில் ஜில்லா போர்டு தலைவரான பற்றியும் ஜில்லா போர்டைப்பற்றியும் வருத்தம் தெரிவிக்கிறார்கள் என்பது தெரியவரும். மக்கள் என்ன சொல்லுகிறார்களென்றால் தேர்தல் வரட்டும் தேர்தலில் அவர்களுக்கு நல்ல புத்தி கற்பிக்கிறோம் என்று சொல்லிவருகிறார்கள். இந்த அளவிற்கு நாட்டில் நிலை இருக்கிறது. எந்த அளவிற்கு அவர்களை உதாசீனம் செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்பது தெரியவரும். முன்று நான்கு வருஷங்களாக எங்கள் ஜில்லா போர்டு தலைவருடைய நடவடிக்கையைக் குறிப்பிட விரும்புகிறேன். உண்மையிலேயே மக்களுடைய மனதிலுள்ள எண்ணத்தைக் குறிப்பிட்டு சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன்யொழிய எதையும் மிகைப்படுத்தி யாரும் புண்படும்படியாகச் சொல்லவில்லை, உதாரணமாக

[4th April 1953]

[Sri C. Kandaswami]

கனம் அங்கத்தினர் சுவயம்பிரகாசம் தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவைப்பற்றி பேசியபோது தஞ்சை ஜில்லா போர்டு தலைவரோடு ஒன்பது மாத காலமாக படுத்த படுக்கையாக இருக்கிறார் என்று குறிப்பிட்டார். அவ்விதம் அவர் படுத்திருந்தும் தன்னுடைய தலைமை பதவியை உப தலைவரிடமும் கொடுக்காமல் யாரோ ஒரு அங்கத்தினருக்கு தலைமை பதவியை கொடுக்கப்பட்டு நிர்வாகம் நடத்தப்பட்டு வருகிறது. இப்போது முது 15 வருஷங்களாகியும் அவர்களுடைய மலம் மாறவில்லை 15 வருஷங்களாகியும் அதே ரீதியில்தானிருக்கிறார்கள். அங்கு பொது தேர்தல் நடந்த பிறகு நான் கைது செய்யப்பட்டு ஜெயிலில் இருந்தேன். பிறகு 15 நாட்கள் கழிந்து விடுதலை அடைந்து என்னுடைய ஊருக்குப் போனபோது சகல உட்சியாளர்களும் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் உள்பட எனக்கு வரவேற்பு அளித்தார்கள். அவ்விதம் வரவேற்பளித்தபோது போட்டோ எடுத்தார்கள். அந்த போட்டோவில் ஒரு மூலையில் ஒரு ஆதி திராவிட உபாத்தியாயரும் நின்றிருந்தார். இதைப் பார்த்துவிட்டு எங்கள் ஊர் ஜில்லா போர்டு நிர்வாகிகள் அந்த ஆதி திராவிட டீச்சரைக் கூடப்பிட்டு 'நீ என்ன கம்யூனிஸ்டாக சேர்ந்துவிட்டாயா? கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளுக்கு தேர்தல் களில் பிரசாரம் செய்கிறாயா? அவர்களுக்கு உதவி செய்கிறாயா?' என்று கேட்டுவிட்டு இன்றையதினம் அந்த டீச்சரை ஒரு தண்ணீர் இல்லாத காட்டிற்கு சாப்பாட்டிற்கு கூட வழி இல்லாத காட்டிற்கு மாற்றி வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். அந்த அளவிற்கு

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN:—“வேலையை விட்டுவிட்டுபோகச் சொல்லவில்லையே?”

* SRI C. KANDASWAMI:—“வேலையை விட்டுபோகச் சொல்லவில்லை. வேலையில் தானிருக்கிறார். எந்த அளவில் கேவலமான நிலைமையில் நடத்தப்படுகிறார்கள் என்பதைப்பார்க்கவேண்டும். இதைப்பாலவே எவ்வளவோ வத்யாசம் காட்டப்படுகிறது. போட்டோவில் நின்றதற்காக 50 மைலுக்கு அப்பால் தண்ணீரும் சாப்பாடும் இல்லாத காட்டிற்கு மாற்றி வதென்றால் எந்த நிலைமையில் இந்த நிர்வாகம் நடக்கிறது என்பது தெரியும். ஜில்லா போர்டு நிர்வாகம் இன்றையதினம் இவ்வளவு கீழ்த்தரமான நிலைமைக்குப் போய்விட்டது. ஜில்லா போர்டு நிர்வாகத்தை தங்கள் கையிலவைத்து மாகாண நிர்வாகத்தை கைப்பற்றி நடத்த ஒரு கருவியாக உபயோகப்படுமபடியாக இருக்கிறது. மதஸ்தாபனமும், ஸ்தலஸ்தாபனமும் இந்த இரண்டும் மாகாண ஆட்சியை நடத்த ஒரு கருவியாக இருக்கிறது. நிலைமை இவ்விதமிருப்பதால் மக்கள் வாடிவதங்குகிறார்கள். சென்ற தான் ஒரு வருஷங்களாக நிர்வாகம் சரிவர நடக்கவில்லை. மக்களுடைய அபிலாஷைகளை கவனிக்காமல் அரசியலை நடத்துவதற்கு உதவியாக இருப்பதால் எல்லோரும் தேர்தல் வரவேண்டும் என்றுதான் விரும்புகிறார்கள். ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் காரணம் சொல்லும்போது மாகாணப் பிரிவினை வரப்போகிறது. இன்னும் மற்றும் பல தொந்தரவுகள் இருக்கின்றன, ஆகவே தேர்தலை தள்ளிவைக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொன்னார், அது சரியான காரணம் இல்லை. நான் கேட்கிறேன், ஆந்திர பிரிவினை காரணமாக எந்த வேலை நிறுவிட்டது என்று. சிதம்பரத்தில் நடக்கும் அடக்குமுறை நிறுவிட்டதா? ஜனங்களுக்கு கஷ்டம் வரக்கூடிய அரசாங்க நடவடிக்கைகளை நிறுத்திவிட்டார்களா என்று கேட்கிறேன். ஆனால் ஜில்லா போர்டு தேர்தலை மட்டும் ஏன் நிறுத்தவேண்டும்? பொதுத் தேர்தல் நடத்தபோது இப்பொழுதுள்ள கொள்கைகளை மக்கள் விரும்பவில்லை என்று தீர்ப்பு கூறிவிட்டார்கள். அவ்விதம் தீர்ப்பளித்த பிறகும் கூட தேர்தலை ஒத்திவைக்கவேண்டுமென்றால் அது சரியல்ல. ஒத்திவைத்துவிட்டு கூடிய சீக்கிரத்தில் தேர்தலை நடத்துகிறோம் என்று ராஜாஜியின் உறுதிமொழிகளை நம்புகிறோம். ஆனால் ராஜாஜி இந்த ஸ்தானத்திலேயே உட்கார்ந்திருப்பாரா என்பதுதான் சந்தேகமாக இருக்கிறது. அவருக்குப் பிறகு என்ன நடக்கும் என்பதை யார் கண்டாகா. இன்றையதினத்திலுள்ள அரசியல் சூழ்நிலையின் அடிப்படையை வைத்துப்பார்க்கும்போது கனம் ராஜாஜியின் உறுதிமொழியின்பேரில் நம்பிக்கை இல்லாமல் போய்விடுகிறது. இன்றைய சூழ்நிலையைப் பார்த்தால் அது வெறும் உறுதிமொழி என்று தோன்றுகிறதே. யொழிய எந்த விதத்திலும் பிரயோசனம் தரப்போவதாக தெரியவில்லை.

[Sri C. Kandaswami]

[4th April 1953]

“அதிகாரிகளைப் பற்றியும் வருமானத்தைப்பற்றியும் இரண்டொரு வார்த்தைகள் சொல்லவேண்டியதாக இருக்கிறது. இந்த காரங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியில்கூட அதிகாரிகள் பழய நிலைமையிலிருக்கிறார்கள். மக்களுக்கு நன்மைகள் ஏற்படப்படியான நிலைமையில் அதிகாரிகள் இப்பொழுதும்கூட செய்வதில்லை. மக்களுக்கு அதிகாரிகள் கட்டுப்பட்டு நடப்பதில்லை. அதனால் அதிகாரிகளிடையே மக்களுக்கு நம்பிக்கை இல்லை. இப்பொழுது மத்தியத் தாபனங்களுக்கு Special Officer-களைப் போடுவதாக இருந்தால் ஜில்லா அதிகாரிகளையும் காரியதரிசிகளைப்போன்றவர்களையும்தான் அனுப்பிவைப்பார்கள். அப்பொழுது பழய ஊழல்கள் நடந்துகொண்டுதான் இருக்கும். இப்பொழுது தேர்தலை நடத்தினால் மக்கள் கோபமாக இருக்கிறார்கள். அதனால் அவர்கள் எதிராகத்தான் தீர்ப்பளிப்பார்கள். ஆறு மாதம், ஒன்பது மாதம் தள்ளிவைத்தால் அதற்குள் அவர்களுடைய கோபம் தணிந்துபோய்விடும். எல்லா ஊழல்களையும் மறந்துவிடுவார்கள். பிறகு தேர்தல் நடத்தினால் வெற்றியடைந்துவிடலாமென்று தேர்தல்களை ஒத்திவைப்பதாகத் தோன்றுகிறது. இப்பொழுது மக்கள் கோபமாக இருக்கும் போது தேர்தல்களை நடத்தினால்தான் சரியானபடி தீர்ப்புக் கொடுப்பார்கள். இந்த அளவில் மக்கள் கோபமாக இருக்கும்படியாக நிர்வாகம் நடைபெற்று வந்திருக்கின்றன. மக்கள் அவ்வளவு தூரம் கஷ்டப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். பாபட்சமாக மக்களை நடத்தி இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆறு மாதம், ஒன்பது மாதம் தள்ளிவைத்தால் அதற்குள் மக்களுடைய கோபத்தை ஆற்றிவிடலாம் அதற்கு சந்தர்ப்பம் ஏற்படும் என்பதேயொழிய வேறு எந்தவிதமான நோக்கமும் இல்லை என்பதை தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இதைப்போல எவ்வளவோ உதாரணங்கள் கொடுக்கமுடியும்.

“ஜில்லா போர்டின் வருமானத்தைப்பற்றி சொல்லும்போதுகூட பாபட்சமாக நடந்து வந்திருக்கிறது. நாகபட்டணம் பரிசல் குறைமுகம் சம்பந்தமாக ரூ 16,000 வருமானம் வருவதை ஒரு தனிப்பட்ட நபருக்கு கொடுத்து ஜில்லா போர்டுக்கு வரவேண்டிய வருமானம் குறைத்துவிட்டது. எவ்வளவோ போர்கள் அதிக தொகைக்கு எடுத்துக்கொள்ள தயாராக இருக்கும்போது ஒரு தனி நபருக்குக் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். இதைப் போலவே எவ்வளவோ உதாரணங்கள் கொடுக்கலாம். பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்கு கட்டடங்களைக் கட்டிக்கொடுக்கிறோம். பாடகைக் கொடுக்கவேண்டாம் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை திறக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லியும்கூட அவ்விதம் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை அமைப்பதில்லை. வோட்டுப் போடாததால் பையன்களை நடக்கவைத்து பழிவாங்க வேண்டுமென்று பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை அமைக்கிறார்கள். பள்ளிக்கூட கட்டடங்களையும் பழுதுபார்ப்பது கிடையாது. வோட்டுப் போடாததால் பையன்களை பழி வாங்குவதற்காக கட்டடங்கள் கட்டிக்கொடுக்கிறோம் என்றாலும்கூட பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை அமைக்க மறுத்து வருகிறார்கள். இதைப்பற்றி தலைவரைக் கேட்கும்படி இன்னும் பதில் வரவில்லை. அதிகாரிகளிடமிருந்து இன்னும் பதில் வரவில்லை என்கிறார்கள். இந்த ரீதியில் ஜில்லா போர்டு நிர்வாகம் நடந்து வருகிறது. இந்த ரீதியில் இந்த மசோதா விரும்பத்தகுந்தது அல்ல. எல்லோரும் இதை எதிர்ப்பார்கள் என்ற எண்ணத்துடன் நானும் இதை எதிர்த்து மற்றவர்களுடைய எதிர்ப்பையும் எதிர்பார்த்துக்கொண்டு இத்தடன் முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

11
a.m.

* SRI N. N. SUVARNA :—“Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Bill. The real issue is whether the reasons that have been advanced by the Government are sound and cogent. There is no gainsaying the fact that the time is not propitious for holding State-wide elections since the formation of the Andhra State is impending. The Hon. the Chief Minister has given us adequate reasons for saying that the time is not opportune for holding elections. For instance, we have got the case of Bellary which is a disputed area. Nobody will say that elections to the district board of Bellary could be held at this juncture. In fact, it will be unwise

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and undesirable. There are so many other districts which occupy the same position as Bellary. Besides, statistics and data have to be collected by almost all the departments of the Government in this connection. In these circumstances, if the work of conducting elections is to be undertaken, the Government will be put to very great difficulty and the strain will be too much. As a matter of fact, this Bill could have been avoided if, on the last occasion, the Government Bill laying down that the term of office of the present members and presidents of the district boards should be extended up to December had been accepted. But, unfortunately, on that occasion a lot of allegations were made that it was with a motive and purpose that the elections to district boards were being postponed. Therefore, in order to show their bona fides, the Government agreed to a compromise that the elections should be held before June 1953. But, at that time, the question of the Andhra State was not in the forefront. The decision to form the Andhra State was not expected or foreseen. Now this question supervened and the Government thought that the opinion of the House might be taken once again. That is why they gave the members of their Party freedom to vote on the Resolution which was moved to extend the term of office of the members of the district boards. The House ultimately rejected that Resolution. I supported that Resolution and in doing so, I really took a parochial attitude. I was justified in it because we had got in South Kanara a district board of which we could really be proud. It has had a career of efficient and upright administration for about forty years. The foundations of this efficient administration were laid by that great man Diwan Bahadur Mahabala Hegde. We are proud that the present district board is carrying on the tradition of upright and efficient administration. So, I wanted that the term of office of the existing members of the district board should be extended because no evil would come out of it. Certain allegations were made about district boards by hon. Members who belonged to other districts. But such allegations cannot be made against the president of our district board. There has been no allegation that he misused or abused his powers. Since that resolution giving extension of term of office has been thrown out, it is absolutely necessary that this Bill about appointment of special officers should be accepted. That is the only way out of the difficulty. Unfortunately, there is a certain amount of prejudice against the special officers. As the Hon. the Chief Minister said, they are only a set of people selected from the several departments of the Government. If we can tolerate them in the ordinary departments of Government, I do not understand why they cannot be tolerated as Special Officers. It has been said that generally Collectors or Deputy Collectors are appointed to these posts. If I may say so without being misunderstood, we have got a Collector in South Kanara who has endeared himself to the people and I would not be found fault with if I say that he is a gem of an officer, an ideal officer, who is accessible to all persons at all times and who is untiring in his devotion to duty. But South Kanara is not fortunate to have such good officers for a long time. This Collector, within six months, is on transfer to Madurai. I really congratulate Madurai on its good fortune.

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An amendment given notice of wants that an advisory body must be appointed to advise the president. I should say that it is a retrograde step. These special officers were condemned and adverse remarks were made against them. But, I should say that we are the people who spoil them. This proposed advisory body is not competent to pass resolutions. It can only act in an advisory capacity. It will only be offering advice which may or may not be accepted. It is we that approach these special officers with requests that cannot be complied with and afterwards howl against them and condemn them. It is these things that create difficulties for the special officers. Therefore, I say that I would even accept a nominated body with the special officer as president. That body can pass resolutions. If advisory bodies are created, they will not be responsible for the advice they give and if the special officer, in order not to discriminate between one and the other, rejects their advice, they will condemn him. In these circumstances, the best course would be to leave these special officers untrammelled by any of these advisory bodies. After all, this arrangement is to last for only a short time. The Hon. the Chief Minister has assured us that as soon as possible the regime of special officers will be ended and that elections would be held. The only way out of the present difficulty is to have special officers.

“With these words, I support the Bill.”

SRI K. RAJAGOPALA RAO :—“Sir, ఈ బిల్లును ప్రతిపాదించడములూ ప్రభుత్వము యొక్క ఉద్దేశ్యము స్పష్టంగా కనబడుచున్నది. ఇదివరకొక సారి యీ బిల్లు చర్చకు వచ్చినప్పుడు ప్రభుత్వం యుచ్చినటువంటి వాగ్దానాలకునూ, యీ రోజున ప్రభుత్వం అవలంబిస్తున్న విధానానినీ చాలా వ్యత్యాసము కనబడుచున్నది. ఏదో ఒక విధంగా యిప్పుడు త్వర టువంటి జిల్లా బోర్డులను ఎన్నికలు వాయిదా వేయాలనేటువంటి దురుద్దేశ్యము తప్పు ఉండులో ప్రజాస్వామిక స్ఫూతాలను పాటించాలనే తలంపు ప్రభుత్వం అవలంబించడం లేదు. ఈ నాడు యీ జిల్లా బోర్డులూ జరుగుతున్నటువంటి పరిపాలన ప్రజలను అనేక విధాల యిబ్బందులను లాను జేస్తున్నది. ముఖ్యంగా జనరల్ ఎన్నికలు అయిన తర్వాత ఎన్నో వేలమంది ఉపాధ్యాయులను మారు మూలలను గ్రామాలకు బదిలీ చేస్తున్నారు. ఎన్నో వేల మంది ఉద్యోగులను dismissals, suspensions చేశారు. అట్లా చేయడంలో జిల్లా బోర్డుల పరిపాలన అధాస్పన్నంగా ఉన్నట్లు స్పష్టంగా కనబడుచున్నది. ఇటువంటి పరిపాలన అరిక ట్టుండుకు ఎన్నికలు పెట్టాలని ప్రజలు ఆందోళన చేస్తున్నప్పటికీనీ, ప్రజల ఆగ్రహాలను మన్నించకుండా యీ శాసన సభలో ఒక సారి లిక్కానము ఓడిపోయిననూ, ప్రభుత్వం యీ జిల్లా బోర్డుల ఎన్నికలు జరపకుండా నిరంకుశ పరిపాలన special officers ద్వారా ప్రవేశ పెట్టాలనే తలంపుతో ప్రభుత్వం యీనాడు మరల ఈ బిల్లును ప్రవేశ పెట్టుచున్నది. ప్రభుత్వం యీ నిరంకుశ పరిపాలన ఎంతకాలం చేయిన దలచుకున్నా రో నిర్దిష్టంగా (definite) చెప్పడం లేదు. మాట మాటికి ప్రభుత్వం చేసేటువంటి వస్తులు ప్రజాభివాయానికి వ్యతిరేకముగా ఉండున్నవి. ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రాన్ని అడ్డుపెట్టి ఆ పేరుతో యీ బోర్డుల ఎన్నికలు వాయిదా వేయాలనే కారణం సహజమని కాదు. ప్రభుత్వం జిల్లా బోర్డుల పరిపాలన న్యాయీకం చేసుకొని special officers చేతులలో పెట్టాలని ఉద్దేశం ఉండుదురన్నాయం. ఇదివరకు ఎన్నో సార్లు special officers ను ప్రభుత్వం వేశారు. ప్రజల సొమ్ము యీ పరిపాలన సాకుతో ఏదో

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విధంగా ఎంకో డబ్బు అవహరించారు. వాళ్లు ఏ విధంగా అవహరించారనేది గూడ మనం చూశాము. వారందరూ లంచగొండి తనానికి అలవాటుపడి ప్రజల డబ్బు ఎంతో అవహరించారు. ఈ విషయాలన్నీ గవర్నమెంటు ఏకాగ్రతలు తీర్చివేస్తే మనకు విశదమవుతుంది. ఇటువంటి సందర్భాలలో ప్రభుత్వం యీ బోర్డు పరిపాలనకు మరిల special officers ను వేస్తామంటున్నారు. ఇది ప్రజాస్వామ్యానికి వ్యతిరేకమంటాను. ఈ special officers పరిపాలన కాలశరమితి గూడా ప్రభుత్వం నిర్వచించలేదు. ఈ పరిపాలన indefinite గా యీ special officers కు ప్రభుత్వం కస్టోడియన్లను పుక, ప్రజల సొమ్మును వృధాగా లంచగొట్టడం, అసీతిగరులకు corrupted officers కు కట్టిపెట్టాలని ప్రభుత్వం ఉద్దేశ్యమని చెప్పకతప్పదు. ఇదంతా తద్దమని చెప్పుతున్నాను. కాలశరమితి లేకుండా యీ special officers ను నియమించడం ప్రజాస్వామ్యానికి వ్యతిరేకమంటాను. కాట్టి సభ్యులు యీ special officers కు నిరంకుశాధికారం కట్టిపెట్టడంనేని అంగీకరించవద్దని అంటాను. అందువల్ల యీ బోర్డుల ఎన్నికల ఎంతమాత్రం ఆలోచన చేయకుండా జరిగేమని పదేపదే ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ప్రజలు కొరుతున్నట్లీనీ, ప్రభుత్వం యీ ఎన్నికల ఎందుకు జరిగగూడదని అడుగుతున్నాను. ప్రభుత్వానికి యిప్పుడు వచ్చిన ఆర్డు ఏమిటి? మునిసిపల్ ఎన్నికలు జరిగలేదా? పంచాయితీ ఎన్నికలు జరిగడము లేదా? మేజరు పంచాయితీలకు గూడా ఎన్నికలు జరిగలేదని ప్రభుత్వం ఆవకం లేదా? యిటువంటివన్నీ జిల్లా బోర్డు ఎన్నికలకు అంధాత్వం అడ్డువస్తున్నదా అని అడుగుతున్నాను. ఇంత కన్న ఎక్కువ ఆర్డు వచ్చినప్పుడు గూడా ప్రభుత్వం special officers వేయలేదు. అసలు స్థానిక పరిపాలనా శాఖామంత్యులు దీనియొక్క original లిల్లును ప్రవేశపెట్టినప్పుడే ప్రభుత్వంయొక్క నిజమైన ఉద్దేశ్యము కనబడింది. జిల్లా బోర్డు ఎన్నికలు కష్టమని చెప్పడం యిప్పుడు మన ముఖ్యమంత్రి శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు చెప్పక పూర్వమే స్థానిక పరిపాలనా శాఖామంత్యులు శిశిర రెడ్డిగారు నిర్ణయించియున్నారు. ఎన్నికలు ఇప్పట్లో అవసరమని అంటున్నారే కాని అసాధ్యమని చెప్పలేదు. అంతేకాకుండా యీ లిల్లును అందుకొరకై లే మార్పుకోవాలని చెప్పితే చెప్పవచ్చు. ఈ లిల్లులో చెప్పిన విషయాలను బట్టి గవర్నమెంటు ఉద్దేశ్యము ఏమి అన్నీ సమయమవుతున్నది. ఎన్నికలు జరగడం అవసరమంటే, పరిపాలన తగ్గించడం గూడా అవసరమే అంటాను. కాబట్టి ప్రభుత్వం తమయొక్క విధానాలను, వాటిని నిర్వచించలేదు. స్థానిక సంస్థలు special officers ద్వారా నిరంకుశ పరిపాలన ఒక సంవత్సరమా, రెండు సంవత్సరాలా? ఏదోవిధంగా జరిగి, ఆ తర్వాత సంవత్సరాల కొద్దీ ఖాయముగా కాలశరమితి లేకుండా పరిపాలన సాగించవచ్చునని ప్రభుత్వ ఉద్దేశ్యము స్పష్టమగుచున్నదని సభ్యులను హెచ్చరిస్తున్నాను. ఎన్నికలు జరిగడం అసాధ్యమని ప్రభుత్వం చెప్పడం హాస్యాస్పదము. ఇప్పుడు అసాధ్యమని చెప్పినా, ఎన్నికలు జరిగడం అవసరమని ప్రభుత్వం ఉద్దేశ్యమైతే కనిపిస్తున్నది. జిల్లా బోర్డుల పరిపాలనకు special officers రావడం మంచిదే అని కొంతమంది మిత్రులు అంటున్నారు. ప్రజాస్వామ్య సూత్రాలకు వ్యతిరేకంగా బోర్డు పరిపాలన నిరంకుశాధికారం కట్టిపెట్టడం ధర్మామా? ప్రజాస్వామ్యానికి వ్యతిరేకము కాదా? ప్రజాపరిపాలనను నాశనంచేసి, ప్రజాస్వామ్య సూత్రాలను పాటించకుండా special officers కు కాలశరమితి లేకుండా పరిపాలన కట్టిపెట్టడమనేది సక్రమ పద్ధతేనా అని సభ్యులు గ్రహించాలి. ఇటువంటివన్నీ ప్రజల అవసరాలు తీరవు. ప్రజలకేమిట ప్రయోజనం ఉండదని అంటాను. పంచాయితీ ఎన్నికల విషయములలో గూడా క్రిందటివారి కాంగ్రెసు బెంచీలవారు ఇరవై ముప్పది మందిగూడా వారివా: ఆఫీసర్ల యాలను వెలిబుచ్చారు. మొదట పంచాయితీలలో బహిరంగ ఎలక్షన్ల విషయం

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[Sri K. Rajagopala Rao]

[4th-April 1953]

ప్రతిపక్ష సభ్యుల అభిప్రాయాలను పాటించకుండా ఎన్నికలు జరుపుతున్నందున తగాదాలు రాలేదా? యీ విషయంలో గూడా ప్రతిపక్ష సభ్యులు యిచ్చే అభిప్రాయాలు పాటించకపోతే యీ బోర్డుల పరిపాలన యీ special officers చేతులలో సక్రమంగా జరుగునా అని అంటున్నాను. బోర్డుల పరిపాలన లంచగొండ్లకు కట్టిపెట్టి ప్రజల డబ్బు అనుభవించుటకు ప్రభుత్వం కోహడమిస్తున్నది. కాంగ్రెసు బెంబిలలో కూర్చున్నందువలన బోర్డుల పరిపాలన ప్రజాస్వామిక సూత్రాల కనుగుణంగా నడపబడడము ప్రజాభిప్రాయాలను మన్నింపడమవుతో కాదో, సభ్యులు మరొక పారి ఆలోచించ గోరుతున్నాము. ప్రజాభిప్రాయాలు మన్నించి బోర్డుల పరిపాలన సాగినిస్తే, ప్రజలకు ఆ పరిపాలనయందు విలువవుంటుంది. అట్లుగాకుండా ప్రభుత్వం ప్రజాభిప్రాయానికి వ్యతిరేకముగా పరిపాలన సాగించాలని ఉద్దేశించుచున్నది. ఈ విధానమును ప్రజలు యే మాత్రం ఆంగీకరించరు. ప్రభుత్వం యీ విషయం నిరాశులుగా నమ్మాలంటాను.

“మరొక విషయం మనవిచేస్తాను. ఈనాడు ఏ జిల్లా బోర్డు తీసుకున్నప్పటికీ ఎన్నికలు యివ్వాలి” అంటే, రెండు special officers ను వేస్తే, ఆ ప్రవోక్తములు లంచగొండ్లుగాను, అవినీతిపరులుగాను మరొక మరేమిటతారు ప్రజల హక్కును నిరాకరించడమవుతుంది. ఏదో ధూమం ఈ జిల్లా బోర్డుల పరిపాలన special officers ద్వారా ప్రజల సొత్తు 4 రూపాయలకు ధర్మం లేక ప్రజలసొత్తు ప్రజల చేత పరిపాలన చేయించి ఖర్చుపెట్టించడం ధర్మమా? అని అడుగుతున్నాను. సభ్యులు, ప్రభుత్వం యీ విషయం ఒక సారికి పరిపార్శ్య ఆలోచించాలి. ప్రభుత్వం ప్రజాభిప్రాయాలను మన్నించాలనే ఉద్దేశ్యమే వుంటే, వెంటనే ఎన్నికలు జరపమంటాను. Special officers కు కాల పరిమితి లేకుండా పరిపాలన దాఖలుపరచవద్దంటాను. ప్రభుత్వం సాక్ష్యంగా ఈ విషయాలు గుర్తించి జిల్లా బోర్డుల పరిపాలనకు తగిన ఏర్పాట్లు చేయగోరుతున్నాను. ఇంకను ఈ జిల్లా బోర్డుల పరిపాలనలో అనేక లోపాలు ఉన్నవి. ఆర్థిక రాష్ట్రం వచ్చిన తర్వాతనైనా ఈ ఎన్నికలు జూపే విషయంలో యిన్ ఫెలెస్, వారాలస్ వికెయమునా కాల నిర్మకుచేస్తున్నదా అంటే ప్రభుత్వం అది చెప్పకపోయేది. Indefinite గా ప్రజాభిప్రాయాలకు విరుద్ధంగా special officers ను ప్రభుత్వం వేస్తామంటున్నారు. ప్రజల హక్కు లను మన్నించి ఎన్నికలు ఇంత కాలములోపుగా జరుపుతామని వాగ్దానం చేస్తారా అని అడగగా, ముఖ్యమంత్రి యివ్వరకు ఎక్కడా వాగ్దానం చేశారు. అదే మాదిరిగా యీ రోజునగూడా చేస్తున్నారు. ఇప్పటికే దేని వాగ్దానాలను వారు ఒకదానినికాడ చెల్లించలేదు. అందుల్లో యీ రోజునచేసే వాగ్దానానికి విలువ ఎక్కడవుంది అని అంటున్నాను. చేసిన వాగ్దాలను చెల్లించివ్వడే, ప్రజలకు విశ్వాసము, విలువ ప్రభుత్వం యందు వుంటుంది. జిల్లా బోర్డుల ఎన్నికలు ఇప్పటి కప్పుడే జరపమనికోరడం లేదు. జిల్లా బోర్డుల ఎన్నికలు జరపండి అని ప్రభుత్వ పక్ష సభ్యులుగూడా కోరుతున్నారనే సంగతి ప్రభుత్వం గుర్తించడం లేదు. ప్రతిపక్ష సభ్యులు ఎన్నికలు జరపమని కోరుతుంటుంటే, ప్రభుత్వం పాటించడం లేదు. ప్రభుత్వ పక్ష సభ్యులుగూడా ఎన్నికలు కావాలనే కోరుతున్నప్పుడు, ఈ నిరంకుశాధికారాలు ప్రజలమీద ఎందుకు పెట్టాలి అర్థం కావడంలేదు, పోనీ ఆ ధరాష్ట్రం వచ్చిన తరువాతనైనా బోర్డుల ఎన్నికలు ఇన్ని వారాలు తర్వాతనో, నెలలనో, సంవత్సరాలనో, కాల పరిమితి నిర్దేశించి, ఎన్నికలు జరుపుతామని ప్రభుత్వం చెప్పడంలేదు. ఎన్నికలు ఫలానా తేదినండి, ఫలానా తేదీవరకు జరుపుతామని ప్రభుత్వం చెప్పడంలేదు. అట్లా చెప్పకపోవడమనేది ప్రభుత్వం ఈ బోర్డుల పరిపాలన special officers కు సర్వ కాలం కట్టి పెట్టాలనే ఉద్దేశ్యము స్పష్టమగుచున్నది. అందుచేత ఈ విల్లులో

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ఉన్నటువంటి ఉద్దేశ్యాన్ని బట్టి ప్రభుత్వం special officers యొక్క term నిర్ణయించాలంటాను. ఆ ప్రభుత్వం వచ్చిన తర్వాత కూడా ఎన్నికలు నెలల పర్యంతము. సంవత్సరాంతర్యంతో జరిపకూడే, ప్రజాస్వామ్య పరిపాలన ప్రభుత్వం భగ్నం చేసిందని చెప్పక తప్పదు. అందువల్ల యీ బోర్డుల పరిపాలన నిరంకుశాధికారంకు దాఖలు పరచ నివ్వబద్దని సభ్యులను హెచ్చరించేస్తున్నాను. ఉచితముగా ప్రజాస్వామ్య సూత్రాలను గుణంగా జిల్లా బోర్డు ఎన్నికలు సాఫల్యమివలన త్వరలో జరిపి క్రజల ఆధిపత్యాలను మన్నించమని ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరుతున్నాను. సభ్యులందరు యీ విషయాన్ని గుర్తించాలి.

“మరొక విషయం. ఈ సందర్భములో బిల్లు లో భక్తి 3 వ సెక్షను చూస్తే—

‘The power to remove difficulties.—If any difficulty arises in giving effect to the provisions of the Act or of the principal Act, the State Government may, as occasion may arise, by order do anything which appears to them necessary for the purpose of removing the difficulty.’

అంటే దీని ఆర్డర్ ఏమిటి? ఈ పేరుతో జిల్లా బోర్డులలో ఉన్నటువంటి వారు నామమాత్రపు పరిపాలనను నాశనంచేసి ప్రభుత్వం సంపూర్ణ ఆధికారాన్ని సంపాదించటానికి ప్రభుత్వ ఉద్దేశ్యం కనబడుతున్నది. జిల్లా బోర్డుల పరిపాలన special officers కు కట్టి పెట్టాలని ప్రభుత్వం మోచిస్తున్నది. ఈలాంటి ఆధికారం ఎంతకాలం ప్రభుత్వం కట్టిపెట్టవలసిందో నిర్ణయించాలి. అంటే కాకుండా ఈ బిల్లు యొక్క statement of objects and reasons చదువగా ప్రభుత్వ ఉద్దేశ్యముస్పష్టంగా కనబడుతున్నది. కాబట్టి ప్రభుత్వం ఈ బిల్లును ప్రవేశపెట్టడం వల్ల ప్రజాస్వామిక సూత్రాలన్నియు మరిచిపోవడమవున్నాయి నిరంకుశాధికారుల చేతుల్లో పరిపాలనపై కట్టి పెట్టే కొలది డబ్బు దాఖలు పరచి కాల పరిమితంలేకుండా ఈ డబ్బును వారి యిష్టానుసారం ఆపకూరించి అనుభవింపజూనికి ప్రభుత్వం కోరుడ మిస్తున్నది. అందుచేత మిత్రులందరు ఈ విషయం చాగా ఆలోచించి, జిల్లా బోర్డు పరిపాలన special officers యొక్క నిరంకుశాధికారానికి దాఖలు పరచబానికి సమ్మతిించవద్దని విజ్ఞప్తి చేస్తున్నాను. అట్లాచేయుటవలన ప్రజాస్వామ్య సూత్రాలను నిలబెట్టుటయును. కాబట్టి ప్రజాస్వామ్య సూత్రాలను వ్యతిరేకించేటువంటి ఈ బిల్లును ఓడించమని ప్రభుత్వ సభ్యులను ప్రతిపక్ష సభ్యులందరిని కోరుతున్నాను.”

SRI P. S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR :—“Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Bill. But in so doing, I want to make some suggestions with regard to the wording of the title of the Bill. Usually an amending Bill will be a Bill which will amend the main Act and when that amending Bill is passed into law, it will have its impress on the principal Act. But here, though the title given to the Bill is that it is an amending Bill, it stands separately by itself and even when it is passed into law, its terms will not be incorporated in the principal Act, the District Boards Act. Therefore the very title itself is a misnomer. It cannot be called an amending Bill. It can very well be called an enabling Bill. The wording of the Bill being what it is, when it becomes law, it will not in any way have its impress on the District Boards Act. So, Sir, with regard to the title, there may be effected some change in the Bill. I am in entire agreement with the Minister in charge of the Bill with regard to the object of the Bill. When I support it I want that the title be changed suitably.”

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a.m.

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* SRI K. VINAYAKAM:—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, with rapt attention I have listened to the eloquent arguments advanced by the Chief Minister in connexion with this Bill. I am sorry to let him know he has left some snags unanswered. The snags are very simple, and I request the Hon. the Minister in charge of the Bill to explain them while winding up the debate.

“ Sir, we are supposed to live in a land of democracy. What is the special contingency that has arisen for the suspension of the district boards and the appointment of special officers? The chief objection of the Opposition is to the appointment of special officers to district boards. The reason is this. Special officers are usually Government officials who are not responsible to the electorate in the land. On the other hand the president and members elected to the district boards are directly responsible to the masses with the result that the president and the members are always having the interests of the people at heart and make it a point to carry out the suggestions of the people. Thus the will of the people is fulfilled. But the special officers are not responsible to the people; they are directly responsible to the appointing authority, namely, the Government. Their only look-out is to satisfy the Government by carrying out their orders faithfully. We have a legitimate fear that these bureaucrats will be there only to safeguard the interests of the Government and not those of the masses. For instance, what is the present financial position of the district boards? In a recent review of the district boards' administration, I remember to have read that the Government called upon the Chittoor District Board to explain why it should not curtail its expenditure and thus balance its budget which had fallen into a deficit of, I believe, 5 lakhs of rupees. The fear of the Opposition is this. Now the district boards have gone beyond their capacity to satisfy the needs of the people. They have started schools, put up new roads, opened rural dispensaries and have undertaken several other activities for the benefit of the people. With the institution of special officers, the Government will instruct them, for instance, to close some schools, some rural dispensaries and if possible to leave the roads unrepaired with the main objective of seeing that the budgets of the District Boards are balanced. That is our fear. Even in the Chingleput District Board, this fear will be an accomplished fact in course of time. There, the District Board authorities have started very many good works and can the Government give a guarantee to this House that special officers, when appointed, will not be instructed to close some of the schools, etc., on the simple pretext that they are uneconomic units?

“ Sir, taking the other side, there are equally strong arguments in favour of termination of the present District Boards. The administration of District Boards still stinks in our nostrils. To our dismay, we have found that the District Board administration is nothing but—if the Chair will permit me to use a stronger term—political gangsterism. It is political brigandage. The party that is in power has nullified the very tenets of democracy. The party that has come into power in almost all the District Boards in our State has

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only catered to the needs of the members belonging to it and not to the needs of the people according to the urgency and necessity felt by them. They have opened schools and dispensaries not for the sake of the people but to satisfy the interests of members of the party. Such has been the woeful experience which some of us have had in the District Boards. Take the Chingleput District Board. Seventy-five per cent of its members are from the Congress party. Those who had the misfortune of opposing the Congress Party in the District Board elections have been relegated to the background. The necessity has been strongly felt in their constituencies for more schools, rural dispensaries, water-supply schemes and roads. The party in power has neglected their needs because they do not belong to the favoured party. That is the grievance which some of the Opposition members have got. Sir, the same system is obtaining in the United States of America which is known as the 'spoils' system. As soon as a new president is elected, he brings in his own men. He replaces the Executive with his own men and even the Judiciary is replaced. That is the system that obtains in the district boards when the Congress Party is in power there. This 'Tammany Hall' method must be put an end to.

"Sir, why we invite this Bill to-day is, at least we will have the special officers for some time and not the rule of the Congress party. Only members supporting the Congress party have had so far the privilege of having more roads. When a special officer is appointed, he is not usually a man of any political colour. He is not a man to be influenced by these khaddar shirts. (Interruption.) I do not mind disturbance. I invite interruption. I do not get upset so easily as Members on the other side. What we feel is that the injustice done to our constituencies can be rectified at least by a Government official. We can represent our grievances to him. We can represent to him the faults committed by the party in power and we can convince him to carry out some of the improvements which were totally neglected by the party in power. Therefore, I would once again request the Government to give us an assurance that works that are already on hand, schemes that are already afoot, etc., should not be given up. For instance, schools that have been opened already should not be closed on the pretext that they are uneconomic units. That is going against the spirit of democracy. Arguments can of course be very easily advanced to dub a work 'uneconomic'. After all it is the rudimentary principle of democracy that we should give compulsory primary education free to all children in our country. Suppose the District Board has opened a school which has run for three or four months. The Government should not after this period turn round and say: 'The school is uneconomic in that sufficient number of children do not attend: the money needed for running the school is not forthcoming; so close it.' This kind of flimsy arguments should not be put forth and the school closed. If the Government can give us such an assurance, then we commend the Bill to the acceptance of the House."

* SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP: "Sir, this is an extraordinary measure. Stripped of the constitutional niceties and a.n.

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legal quibbling, this Bill is really opposed to the decision taken by the House on a previous occasion. Now the alternative placed before the House is this: 'Which do you want, the continuation of the existing Boards or Special Officers?' It is just like asking a man: 'Which do you prefer, hanging or electrocution.' Sir, we do not want either. As a democratic people, we want elections and the matter decided according to well-recognized principles.

"Sir, the reasons advanced for postponing elections are neither sufficient nor satisfactory. We have seen nations going to the poll during the world wars with the enemies knocking at their doors. I think the formation of the Andhra Province need not be magnified to this extent that the local board elections in all parts of the State should be postponed. I have a feeling that the Government were only waiting for an opportunity to postpone these elections and fortuitously enough this Andhra Province issue came before them. They were too willing to snatch at it. Sir, it was only just a few months ago that our Hon. the Chief Minister appealed to us to trust each other. We also know that it is only trust that will beget trust. The criminal suspects his own shadow as that of a policeman. The local boards as they are constituted to-day are merely the handmaid of the executive Government. Still it seems as though the Government do not trust them. After the advent of Independence we all thought that we will have decentralization of power and these local boards will be allowed to function as real autonomous units with sufficient power. But what do we find to-day? To-day the Central Government do not trust the Provincial Government. The Provincial Governments do not trust and have no faith in local self-governing institutions. Gandhiji said: 'Freedom meant, even freedom to commit wrong if that became the question.' But now we find the local boards are there only in name. Our Government excel the foreigners in instituting enquiry committees not with a view to solving the problems but with a view to postponing them. A committee was constituted long ago to consider the re-organization of these local boards and it is many months since the committee submitted its report. But nothing has been done so far to give these bodies real power and to see whether they can manage their own affairs. One thing is certain. If we are to retain the local self-governing institutions they must be given real power. Otherwise scrap them. You cannot hold the strings from above and then blame the institutions for not conducting themselves properly. A man cannot learn swimming without entering into water. Therefore, rather than bringing such measures which are really intended to establish a sort of dictatorship from top to bottom, let the Government give real powers to these institutions if they really want these institutions to function or scrap them.

"Another small point I wish to mention in this connexion is this. It has become the fashion to bring in legislative measures couched in vague and indefinite terms and then allow the executive to do everything by the rule-making powers. If we are not here to check this tendency of delegated legislation, I am sure, it will

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not only encroach upon the privileges of the House but ultimately supplant the legislature itself. Look at the wide powers conferred on the executive by this Bill. They can do anything they want. They can even abrogate the principle contained in the District Boards Act itself. The Legislature is not empowered even to scrutinize the rules framed by the executive Government. That is not the way of bringing proper legislative measures. Therefore, Sir, I oppose this measure."

*SRI D. KRISHNAMURTHI GOUNDER :—“கனம் உதவி சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே ! ஜில்லா போர்டுகளுக்கு ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்கள் நியமிக்கும் மசோதாவை நான் எதிர்க்கிறேன். இந்த மசோதாவானது ஜனநாயகத்திற்கு எதிரிடையாக உள்ளது. அதாவது 1946-ம் ஆண்டில் தேர்தலுக்கு முன் இருந்த அரசாங்கத்தார், இந்த ஜில்லா போர்டு தேர்தலை ஒத்திவைத்து ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களை நியமித்தார்கள். அப்பொழுது சுமார் மூன்று ஆண்டுகள் ஜில்லா போர்டுகள் எல்லாம் ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களின் நிர்வாகத்தின் கீழ் இருந்தது. அந்த நிர்வாகத்தைக் கொண்டதான் நான் இதை எதிர்க்கவேண்டியவனாக இருக்கிறேன். ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்கள் நமது முதல் மந்திரி அவர்கள் சொன்னதப்போல அரசாங்க ஊழியர்கள். அரசாங்க ஊழியர்கள் எல்லோரும் மிகவும் நல்லவர்கள் என்றும், மிகவும் திறமையாக, நியாயமாக வேலை செய்வார்கள் என்றும் நம்மால் சொல்லமுடியாது. ஆனால் ஒரு விஷயத்தில்தான் அவர்கள் மிகவும் திறமையாக வேலை செய்வார்கள். அதாவது சென்னை சர்க்கார் அதன் நிர்வாகிகளாகிய மந்திரிகள் ஏதாவது ஒரு உத்தரவைப் போட்டால் உடனேயே அதை நிறைவேற்றிவிடுவார்கள். ஆனால் உத்தியோகப்பற்றற்ற தலைவர்கள் யாராவது இருந்தால் அவ்வாறு அவர்களையோடே உடனேயே செய்யமாட்டார்கள். எனதில் இந்த ஒரு விஷயத்தில்தான் அவர்கள் மிகவும் திறமையுள்ளவர்கள் என்று யாரும் சொல்லலாம். அதை நாம் நன்றாகப் பார்த்திருக்கிறோம். நமது முதல் மந்திரியார் சென்னையிலே ஜில்லா போர்டுகளில் போதுமான வருமானமில்லை. முக்கியமாக வருமானத்தை யெல்லாம் நமது ராஜ்ய சர்க்கார் எடுத்துக்கொண்டுவிடுகிறது. அவர்களுக்கு வதோ குறிப்பிட்ட அளவுதான் கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. அந்த அளவும் ஜில்லா போர்டுகள் ஏற்பட்ட காலத்தில் அதாவது 1920-ம் ஆண்டில் எவ்வளவு பணம் கொடுத்தார்களோ அவ்வளவுதான் இப்பொழுதும் கொடுத்து வருகிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு அந்த அளவிற்குமேல் கொஞ்சம்கூட கொடுக்கவில்லை. ஆனால் தற்போலத்தில் ஜில்லா போர்டுகளின் செலவையோ நான்கு நாள் பெருகி வருகிறது. அப்படிப் பெருகுவதற்கு என்ன காரணம் என்றால் அந்தந்த ஜில்லாக்களில் கிராமங்களிலுள்ள மக்களுக்கு எல்லாம் குடிதண்ணீர் வசதி, கல்வி வசதி, சுகாதார வசதி போன்ற எல்லா வசதிகளையும் செய்து கொடுக்கவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. மேலும் ஜனங்கள் இதையெல்லாம் ஜில்லா போர்டு செய்து தரவேண்டுமென வற்புறுத்துகிறார்கள். ஜனங்களின் பிரதிநிதிகள் வற்புறுத்துகிறார்கள். ஜனங்கள் தலைவர்கள் வற்புறுத்துகிறார்கள். ஆனால் அந்தச் செலவுகளையெல்லாம் செய்ய ஜில்லா போர்டுகளுக்குப் போதுமான வருமானமில்லை. அதனால்தான் நமது முதல் மந்திரியார் அவர்கள் சொன்னதப்போல ஜில்லா போர்டுகளின் தலைவர்கள் இன்றையதினம் பதவியில் நீடித்திருக்கவேண்டுமென ஆசைகொள்ளவில்லை. இருந்தாலும்கூட இன்றையதினம் இருக்கின்ற அங்கத்தினர்களும்கூட, தலைவர்களையும் பதவியில் இருந்து நீக்கிவிட்டு ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களை நியமிக்கும் யோசனையினால் விளையக்கூடிய ஆபத்துக்களைத்தான் நான் எடுத்துக்கூற விரும்புகிறேன். இன்றையதினம் ஜில்லாக்களிலுள்ள ஜில்லா போர்டு தலைவர்களும், அதிகாரிகளும் அங்கத்தினர்களின் வேண்டுகோளுக்கு இளைக்க பல ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளையும், பல புதிய புதிய ரோடுகளையும் எடுத்து நடத்தி வருகிறார்கள். கல்வி அபிவிருத்திக்காகப் பல பல பாடசாலைகளை ஏற்படுத்தியிருக்கிறார்கள். ஜில்லா போர்டுகளில் பணம் இல்லாவிட்டாலும் இன்றையதினம் உள்ள தலைவர்கள் தங்களுக்கு மக்களிடத்தில் உள்ள செல்வாக்காலும், மக்களுக்குச் சேவை செய்யவேண்டுமென்ற ஒரே

[Sri D. Krishnamurthi Gounder] [4th April 1953]

11-40
a.m.

கொள்கையாலும் செலவைக்கூட லட்சியம் செய்யாது சர்க்காரிடம் கடன் வாங்கியாவது செய்துகொண்டுதான் வருகிறார்கள். உதாரணமாக எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் இப்பொழுது சந்தேகக்குறைப மூன்று ஆண்டுக்காக புதிய புதிய பள்ளிக்கூடங்களையெல்லாம் ஏற்படுத்தியிருக்கிறார்கள். இவ்வாண்டும் புதிய பள்ளிக்கூடங்கள் பல ஏற்படுத்த திட்டம்போட்டோம். ஏன் இதற்காக நாங்கள் இவ்வளவு பாடுபடுகிறோம் என்று கேட்கலாம்? நமது அரசியல் சட்டத்தில் என்ன சொல்லியிருக்கிறதென்றால் ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட ஆண்டுக்குள் இந்த நாட்டிலுள்ள மக்களைப்பெல்லாம் கல்வியறிவு உடையவர்களாக ஆக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இதை சாத்தியமானதாகச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்றால் ஜில்லா போர்டுகள்தான் நிறையப் பள்ளிகளை ஏற்படுத்தி கிராமங்களிலுள்ளவர்கள் எல்லோரும் படிப்பதற்கு வசதியளிக்கவேண்டும். இதற்காகவேதான் ஆண்டுதோறும் பல பள்ளிகளை ஏற்படுத்திக்கொண்டே வந்தோம். ஆனால், 'உங்களுக்குப் போதுமான வந்மானமில்லை. உங்கள் பட்ஜெட்டில் ஒரு லக்ஷம் ரூபாய்க் தமேல் துண்டு விழுகிறது. ஆகவே இனிமேல் புதிதாக ஆரம்பப் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களையோ உயரதரப் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களையோ ஏற்படுத்தக்கூடா' தென்று உத்தரவு அனுப்பியிருப்பதாக பத்திரிகையில் பார்த்தேன். இப்படி பொதுஜனப் பிரதிநிதிகள் இருக்கும்பொழுதே சர்க்கார் உத்தரவுகளைப் பிறப்பித்து அவர்கள் செய்யும் காரியத்தைத் தடைசெய்யும்பொழுது ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்கள் நியமிக்கப்பட்டால், பட்ஜெட்டில் துண்டு விழுகிறது. செலவைக் குறைக்க வேண்டுமென்றால் உடனேயே அவர்கள் குறைத்ததுவிடவார்கள். எந்த வேலை இன்று எந்த நிலைமையில் இருந்தாலும்கூட பணத்திற்காக எல்லா வேலையையும் நிறுத்திவிடுவார்கள். ஆனால் பொதுஜனப் பிரதிநிதிகளோ, அங்கத்தினர்களோ இருந்தால் சர்க்காருக்கு அதன் அவசியத்தையும், சர்க்கார் போட்டுள்ள உத்தரவினால் விளையப்போகும் கேடுகளையும் எடுத்துச் சொல்லுவார்கள். நிதி வசதிக்கு தக்க ஏற்பாட்டைச் செய்து எப்படியாவது அவைகள் நடைபெறும்படியாகச் செய்வார்கள். ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களை நியமித்துவிட்டால் நச்சயமாக அவர்கள் சர்க்கார் போடும் எல்லா உத்தரவையும் நிறைவேற்றி வைப்பார்களே தவிர உண்மையில் மக்களின் நன்மையைக் கவனித்து எதையும் செய்யமாட்டார்கள். பட்ஜெட்டை சரிக்கட்டத்தான் அவர்கள் எப்பொழுதும் விரும்புவார்கள். ஆகையி ல்தான் ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களை ஏற்படுத்துவதைவிட இருப்பவர்களின் பதவிக்காலத்தை நீடிப்பதுதான் நல்லது. நாங்களும் ஜில்லா போர்டுகளை எடுத்து விரும்படி ஜில்லா போர்டில் ஒரு தீர்மானம் போட்டு அனுப்பினோம். குறிப்பாக இன்றையதினம் சேலம் ஜில்லா மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறது. போதுமான பள்ளிக்கூடங்கள் இல்லை. பல இடங்களில் குடி தண்ணீர் வசதியே கிடையாது. இருக்கும் கிணறுகள் எல்லாம் ஆழமாகப் பட்டுவிட்டன. அதனால் பல பேர்கள் பாதிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். சென்ற உணவுக் கமிட்டிக் கூட்டத்திலே ஜில்லா கலெக்டரிடம் கூறினோம். அவர் உடனே என்ன பதில் பிறிர் என்றால், 'சென்ற ஆண்டில் இம்மாதிரி கிணறுகளை வெட்டியதாலும், மற்றும் பல வேலைகளைச் செய்ததாலும் செலவுகள் அதிகமாகிவிட்டன. நபது சர்க்காரின் நிதி வசதியும் குறைவாக இருப்பதால் இம்மாதிரி அதிகச் செலவினங்கள் ஆகக்கூடிய வேலைகளை இப்பொழுது எடுத்துக்கொள்வது சாத்தியமில்லை, ஜில்லா போர்டுகள்தான் கிணறுகளை ஆழப்படுத்த வேண்டும்', என்று சொல்லி விட்டார். நிதி விஷயத்தில் அதிகாரிகளின் மனப்போக்கு எப்படியிருக்குமென்பதை ஓரளவு நாம் உணர்ந்து கொள்ளலாம். (குறிப்பாக இன்றையதினம் எல்லா ஜில்லா போர்டுகளின் நிதி நிலைமையும் மோசமாகத்தான் இருக்கின்றன. ஆகவே உடனடியாக ஜில்லா போர்டு மெம்பர்களையெல்லாம் எடுத்துவிட்டு நமது மந்திரிகளின் நேரிடையான கவனத்திற்கு வைத்துக் கொண்டு நடத்தலாம். இல்லாவிடில் ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களை நியமிப்பதைக்காட்டிலும் உடனடியாகத் தேர்தலை நடத்த வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு இந்த மசோதாவை நான் எதிர்க்கிறேன்."

* SRI S. RAMASAMI NAIDU :—" Mr. Deputy Speaker, I should congratulate the Government for their insight and the

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consistency with which they have been asking for time for holding elections for the district boards. There were three alternatives open to the Government, viz., extending the life of the present District Boards, or holding fresh elections or appointing Special Officers. The Government came forward with a Bill in the last session to extend the life of the present District Boards up to the end of this year. Then the House decided that it should not be extended beyond June 1953 and the Government accepted that position. The next alternative was holding fresh elections after June. With the impending partition of the State and with the elections we are now having for the Panchayats, Government think that it is not practicable to hold elections at this juncture. The third alternative was the appointment of Special Officers for the District Boards. The fact that the Government consented to accept the Resolution if passed by the House, extending the life of the District Boards even at the cost of going against their decision to have Special Officers which was announced in the Governor's Address was proof of the willingness on the part of the Government to accept the extension of the life of the District Boards. Sir, the Government has been left without any alternative but to appoint Special Officers at this juncture. It has been said that the motive behind this decision of the Government is that they are trying to consolidate the position of the party to which it belongs. I would simply say that that is not the case. If the Government had wanted to consolidate the position of the party to which it belongs, it could have easily had the other Resolution passed without being thrown out, by issuing a whip to the members to vote for the Resolution. It was itself proof positive that the Government were not trying to consolidate their position.

"Sir, the Special Officers after they are appointed will not be party men and they are not going to do things which the party members ask them to do. They are there to carry on the administration during the short period before elections are held. Even granting that the Congress President and the Congress Members of the District Boards have been such bad characters as my friend Mr. Vinayakam and others tried to depict, it will be to their own advantage to give the Congress Presidents and the Congress Members a long rope and allow them to be in office for some more months and damn themselves so much that they will not be returned in the next elections. Anyway, Sir, now that there is no other alternative, I must say that this Bill should be passed by the House. Having come to the conclusion that elections cannot be held in July and as it is not possible to hold elections at this juncture when the Andhra State is going to be formed and in view of the fact that the elections to panchayats are still on, I would suggest that the third and best alternative is to appoint Special Officers for the District Boards. We can rest assured that the people who will man these district boards during the interim period will be people of integrity and of the grade of District Collector or at least Senior Deputy Collector, who will carry on the administration without fear or favour. It cannot be said that the Government will be asking them to do certain things for the party

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in power. That is quite unthinkable and if anybody says it, I would say it would be unkind of him to think in those terms. With these few words, Sir, I support the Bill."

11-50
a.m.

* SRI V. GOPALA GOUNDER:—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this Bill is brought before this House out of sheer necessity. The Hon. Chief Minister was pleased to give reasons for the introduction of this Bill at this juncture. Of course it is not for me to say whether all the reasons are well-founded. We know this, that the district boards are creatures of statutes passed by the Legislature of this State and their existence is governed by the provisions of the statutes passed. They have no justification to exist after the date fixed by statute. If their life is to be extended, it should be done only by amending the statute. The life of the existing boards came to an end in the month of November 1952; but, as the circumstances were not then favourable for the holding of elections, the Government brought forward a Bill for extending the life of the boards by a period of one year; but the Assembly was not in favour of extending their life by one year but only by a period of six months, i.e., up to June 1953. It was stated then that conditions would be favourable for holding elections just before June 1953. But subsequent to that, as explained by the Hon. Chief Minister, the formation of the Andhra State came to a prominence and the officers of Government and the Government are very busy now with this partition affair. So, it is not unreasonable to say that the present time is not propitious for holding fresh elections. The other day, the House expressed its opinion that it was not in favour of extending the life of the existing boards; no doubt it was only a recommendation to the Government, and although Government are not bound to accept that recommendation, yet since the House has indicated its feeling in the matter, the Government are now obliged to adopt one of these two alternatives, viz., either to hold elections now or to appoint Special Officers, since somebody has to be in charge of the administration if an immediate election is not possible. Reasons were given by the Hon. Chief Minister for not holding the elections just at present and therefore this Bill is brought forward for enabling Government to appoint Special Officers. Although I for one do agree to the proposal for the appointment of Special Officers, I have got my own fears in that respect. I agree with the reasons given on the other side that it will interfere with the democratic set-up and all that; but when there are two evils, and both of them are unavoidable, naturally we must choose the lesser of the two evils. I take it that way. Of the two, the appointment of the Special Officer is not more harmful. The question of partition is in the air and our officers are at present busy in connexion with work relating to the partition, the setting up of the Boundary Commission, the demarcation of the boundaries, etc., and it is not therefore just or reasonable to insist on the holding of elections now. And so far as the appointment of Special Officers is concerned, I must say leaving them as autocrats to run the administration even for a brief period or even a day is undoubtedly against all democratic principles. I know from my own experience, when Special Officers

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were appointed some time back, what atrocities were committed by them. These Special Officers who are generally Collectors and Deputy Collectors do not look into things themselves but are guided by some Personal Assistants or other officers and in their turn these Personal Assistants are guided by the heads of departments; and these heads of departments have their own way of doing things. Our experience shows that local administration must be in the hands of people elected from the areas concerned, because it is they who can understand the needs of the locality and it is they who can advise on matters pertaining to the people of any locality. If it is simply stated that the officers can very well take care of everything, then I submit it is something which we cannot think of. In such a case, we can as well be without these local boards. These bodies are specially created with a view to look after certain branches of the administration; and to make some officers responsible for running such administration is something unthinkable and undemocratic. As Mr. Vinayakam said, these Special Officers are not answerable to the electorate directly; they are answerable to the Government who give them the necessary orders. My humble submission therefore is that they must have the assistance of some local men; then only can we call the administration democratic. I think there are some amendments coming up before the House which suggest the appointment of advisory committees consisting of local M.L.As. and local M.Ps. who are all representatives of the people and who will be in a better position to advise the officers regarding the day-to-day administration. If the Special Officers are left to themselves, I am sure the administration will become dictatorial and there will be much red-tapism. Our Chief Minister wants us to believe that there will be no harm done to the State by our appointing these Special Officers for a short period of three or four months. Of course, I do not question his *bona fides* but it looks as if we are going against all democratic principles. I submit that in the interests of one and all, these Special Officers should not be left to themselves; they should be made to consult an advisory committee in each district consisting, as I said, of members of the State Legislature and Members of Parliament. In my district of South Arcot, when the District Board was in the hands of a Special Officer previous to the present board, the then engineer in charge was asked to submit a five-year programme; he submitted one to the Government and got it sanctioned, even before the existing board came into office. The result is that the present board is not able to take up any work at all now and we are still to go on like this for another two years. He calculated the income for the coming five years, framed a programme for five years according to his own whims and fancies and got it sanctioned. As I said, not even a single small road can be taken up by the existing board. That is why I suggest that the Special Officer must be made to consult the local representatives of the people. The term of the existing District Board members expires by June but the local M.L.As. and M.L.Cs. and M.Ps. can be trusted to give advice which will be

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valuable to the Special Officer in exercising his powers and in discharging his duties and performing the functions of the board. I therefore submit that if the Hon. Minister is convinced about the reasonableness of the suggestion for appointment of an advisory committee and declares that he is in favour of it certainly we here will support the Bill and see that it is passed."

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noon.

***SRI D. DASARATHAN :—**" Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, இன்று இங்கு கொண்டு வந்திருக்கும் மசோதாவை எதிர்த்து ஒரு சில வார்த்தைகள் பேச ஆசைப் படுகிறேன். இப்பொழுது ஜில்லா போர்டுகளில் அமர்ந்திருக்கும் பிரசிடெண்டுகள், மெம்பர்கள் அவர்களின் குறைபாடுகளை பற்றி அநேக அங்கத்தினர்கள் பேசினார்கள். குறிப்பாக ஜில்லா போர்டு ஸ்தாபனங்களில் வேலை செய்யும் ஆசிரியர்கள் அசிலும் ஹரிஜன ஆசிரியர்கள் மாற்றுக்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்களால் மிகவும் மோசமான நிலையில் நடத்தப்படுகிறார்கள். அவர்கள் படும்பாடு சொல்லி முடியாது. ஏதாவது ஒரு ஊரில் ஒரு நபரை மாற்றவேண்டுமென்று நினைத்தால் அந்த நபருக்குப் பதிலாக வேறு எந்த ஆசிரியரைப் போடலாம் என்ற ஒரு பிரச்சனை எழுகிறபோது இந்த கேட்பதற்கு ஹரிஜன ஆசிரியரைத்தான் அவர்கள் சாதகமாக உபயோகப் படுத்துகிறார்கள். அப்படி இது போன்ற ஆசிரியர்கள் கிடைக்கவில்லை என்றால் அந்த பள்ளியில் ஒரு ஆசிரியரையும் போடாமலேயே காலியாகவே வைத்துள்ளார்கள். கந்த தேர்தலில் தோல்வியுற்று மனது வெறுப் படைந்திருக்கும் பிரசிடெண்டுகளுக்கும், அங்கத்தினர்களுக்கும் தங்களுடைய கோபதாபங்களை இந்த பரிதாபகரமான நிலையிலிருக்கும் ஏழை அப்பாவி ஆசிரியர்களிடம்தான் செலுத்த முடிகின்றது. ஆகவே தற்போதுள்ள ஜில்லா போர்டுகள் கட்சி வேற்றுமையோடும் ஜாதிப் பூசலோடும் பழி தீர்க்கும் படலத்தில்தான் இறங்கி இருக்கின்றன. இந்தப் பழி தீர்க்கும் எண்ணத்தை உடையவர்களுக்கு நல்லபாடம் மக்கள் கற்பிக்க வேண்டுமானால் சரியான தீர்ப்பு கூற வேண்டுமானால் உடனடியாக தேர்தல் நடத்த வேண்டுமென்று சொல்லிக்கொள்ள ஆசைப் படுகிறேன். அவர்கள் காலம் இருக்கும் நிலையில் ஹரிஜனங்கள் தங்களுக்கு இழைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் அநீதிகளை மறந்து விடுவார்கள் என்ற எண்ணத்தில்தான் ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களை நியமித்து நடத்தலாம் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள்.

"ஹரிஜனங்கள் வாழும் சேரிகளுக்கு ஒருவிதமான சனகரியமும் இந்த ஜில்லா போர்டு செய்து கொடுப்பதில்லை. பாதைகள் போடுவதற்கும் கிணறுகள் வெட்டுவதற்கும் அனுமதி இருந்தும் அங்க கவனிப்பாரற்று நாதியற்ற நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறது. பெரிய ரோடுகளிலிருந்து இணைக்கப் படும் பாதைகள், கிராமங்களுக்கு இணைக்கப்படுமே தவிர ஹரிஜனங்களின் சேரிகளுக்குச் சேர்க்கப்படுவதில்லை. இதன் காரணமாக ஜில்லா போர்டுக்கும் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கும் சம்பந்தம் எவ்வளவுதான் என்று குறிப்பிட ஆசைப் படுகிறேன். ஜில்லா போர்டுகளுக்கும், மற்ற ஸ்தாபனங்களுக்கும், ஹரிஜன அங்கத்தினர்களாக நியமிக்கப்படுகிறவர்கள் பெருபான்மையோர் எழுத்தறி வில்லாதவர்களாகவும் எதிர்த்துக் கேட்பதற்கு சரியும் இல்லாதவர்களாகவும் இருப்பார்கள். மேலும் General seat மெம்பர்களின் பண்ணை யாட்களாக இருப்பவர்கள். இத்தன்மை போன்றவர்களை அங்கத்தினர் களாக ஏற்படுத்தினால் ஹரிஜன சமூகாயத்திற்கு என்ன நன்மை செய்யக் கூடும் என்றுதான் எனக்குப் புரியவில்லை."

SRI K. T. KOSALRAM :—" ஜில்லா போர்டு அங்கத்தினர்களைப்பற்றியோ அவ்வது தலைவரைப்பற்றியோ இந்த சபையில் அவதூறாக பேசுவது சபையின் ஒழுங்கு நடவடிக்கைக்கு உகந்ததா என்பதை உதவி சபா நாயகர் அவர்கள் ஒரு Ruling கொடுக்குமாறு கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER :—"ஜில்லா போர்டு தலைவர்களையும் அங்கத் தினர்களைப்பற்றியும் பேசுகிறார்களே தவிர குறிப்பிட்ட யாரையும் பேசவில்லை."

4th April 1953]

*SRI D. DASARATHAN:—“ எந்த ரூறிப்பிட்ட அங்கத்தினர் பற்றியோ, தலைவர்களைப் பற்றியோ அவதூறுகளோ அல்லது மரியாதையற்ற முறை விசேஷ தான் பேச விரும்பவில்லை. அவர்கள் தற்போது நடைமுறையில் எவ்விதம் நடக்கிறார்கள் என்பதைத்தான் கூற ஆசைப்படுகிறேன். வேண்டுமென்றால் எத்தனையோ அத்தாட்சிகளைக் காண்பிக்க முடியும்.

“சதந்நிரத்திரகுமுன் அரசாங்க உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் ஆங்கிலேயருக்கு அடிமையாகி இருந்தார்களென்று புகார் செய்தபடியே இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் அதிகாரிகளின் மேல் எதிர்க்கட்சிக்காரர்களாகிய நாங்கள் தற்போதுள்ள அரசாங்கத்தின் அதிகாரிகளிடத்தில் நம்பிக்கையில்லாமல் இருப்பது நியாயமானதே. எனக்கு முன் பேசியவர்கள் ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீசர்களால் செய்ய முடியாத அனேக நன்மைகளையும் வசதிகளையும் ஜில்லா போர்டுகள் செய்திருக்கின்றன என்று குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இது தவிர கட்சி வேறுபாடு உடையவர்களும் தற்போது அமர்ந்திருக்கும் ஜில்லா போர்டுகளுக்கும் மக்கள் நல்ல கிரீப்பு கூற வேண்டுமென்றால் உடனுக்குடன் மறு தேர்தல் வைக்கவேண்டுமென்று கூறிக்கொள்ள ஆசைப்படுகிறேன்.

“தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட சம்மேளனத்தின் சார்பாக சில வார்த்தைகள் சொல்லிக் கொள்ள ஆசைப்படுகிறேன். ஜில்லா போர்டு ஸ்தாபனங்கள் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு இலாபத்திற்கும் அநீதிகள் விரும்பத்தக்கதாயில்லை. குறைபாடுகள் இருக்கின்றன. அந்தந்த அங்கத்தினர்*ளோ பிரசிடெண்டுகளோ அங்கு வேலை செய்யும் உத்தியோகஸ்தர்க்கிடம் கட்சி வேறுபாட்டினால் பாரபட்சத்தோடு நடக்கிறார்கள். இவையெல்லாம் தீருவதற்கு உடனடியாகத் தேர்தல் நடத்தவேண்டுமென்று கூறிக்கொண்டு என் பேச்சை முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

*SRI K. C. GOPALAN UNNI :—“Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, പാലം 12-10 P.M.

ലിസ്റ്റിൽ ബോംബ് ക്ഷീപങ്ങൾ ഉള്ള തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ച അവിടങ്ങളിൽ എല്ലാത്തന്നെ സ്പെഷൽ ഓഫീസർമാരെ നിയമിക്കണമെന്ന ഉദ്ദേശത്തോടുകൂടി ഗവണ്മെന്റ് കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടുള്ള ഈ ബില്ലിന് അപകടം പിടിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതാണ്. കഴിഞ്ഞ അസെംബ്ലി സെഷൻ കാലത്തു ട്രൂൺ ദേശം തയ്യാറാക്കിയതും എല്ലാ ലിസ്റ്റിൽ ബോംബ് ക്ഷീപങ്ങൾ കാലാവധി നീട്ടുവാനുള്ള ബില്ലിന് ഏകാക്ഷര്യമായിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതിനാലേകം നാട്ടിൽ നടന്ന പരസ്യം 'ബോംബ്' തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പുകൾക്കു ഫലമാണ്—അതല്ല അതേ ഒരു ആസംസാസനം പ്രകാരം മുന്നോട്ടു കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടുള്ളത്—ഇത് നാട്ടിലെ ജനങ്ങളെ തെറ്റിദ്ധരിപ്പിക്കാൻവേണ്ടിയാണ്—ഇതരത്തിലുള്ള ഒരു ബില്ലിന് കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നത് ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ഇപ്പോൾ പ്രേരിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത് എന്തായിരുന്നു. മലബാറിൽ മാത്രമല്ല ഇത് രാജ്യത്തിൽ നടന്ന എല്ലാ പരസ്യങ്ങളും ബോംബ് തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പുകളിൽ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് സ്ഥാനാർത്ഥികൾക്കു പറ്റിയ വമ്പിച്ച പരാജയം ജനങ്ങളുടെ മേലുള്ള അവരുടെ സ്വാധീനശക്തി വളരെ കുറയ്ക്കുവേണ്ടിയിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു പറയുമായിട്ടുണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഈ ലിസ്റ്റിൽ ബോംബ് തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പുകൾ റീട്ടിവൈൻ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിലുള്ളതെന്നു തീർച്ചയാണ്. അതല്ലെങ്കിൽ യഥാർത്ഥത്തിൽ ഈ നാട്ടിലെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങളും അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളും അറിയുവാൻ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ എന്തു കൊണ്ടു രണ്ടു ദിവസം മുമ്പ് ശ്രീമാൻ ഗോപാല മണോൻ ചോൺ മഹിച്ച്, റെസല്യൂഷ്യൻ മെമ്പർമാർക്കു ഏതു കാര്യത്തു വേണമെങ്കിലും ചോട്ടെയ്ക്കുവാനുള്ള സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം കൊടുത്തുവോയെ ചോൺഗ്രസ്സ് പക്ഷം ഈ ബില്ലിനും ഏതു കാര്യത്തു വേണമെങ്കിലും ചോട്ടെക്കാക്കുവാനുള്ള സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം കൊടുത്തുകൂടും. അപ്പോൾ ഈ നാട്ടിലെ ജനങ്ങളെ തെറ്റിദ്ധരിപ്പിക്കാൻവേണ്ടി, ഇത് അസംബ്ലിയുടെ അകത്തു എല്ലാ വിധ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യങ്ങളും കൊടുക്കണമെന്നും അസംബ്ലിയുടെ അഭിപ്രായത്തിനനുസരിച്ച് കാത്തുനിൽക്കണമെന്നും പുറമേയെ വരുത്തുകയും, അതേ സമയത്തു സോഷ്യലിസ്റ്റുകൾക്കും നടത്തുകയും വേണം എന്നാണ് ഇന്നത്തെ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ നയം. മലബാറിന്റെ സംസ്ഥാനത്തേക്കുമാത്രം പ്രത്യേകിച്ചും അങ്ങനെയൊരു പദ്ധതിയെ സംബന്ധിച്ച്, ഇക്കഴിഞ്ഞ ഒരു കൊല്ലത്തെ ഭരണകാലത്ത് കോൺഗ്രസ്സിന് സ്വാധീനശക്തി കിട്ടുവാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു വീക്ഷിക്കുന്ന കോൺഗ്രസ്സുകാരും കള്ളു പറയുകയും എന്ന്. ഇതു പരസ്യം ആണെന്നു ബോംബ് തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പുകൾക്കു കാനിക്ലൂട് ചെയ്തത് മാത്രമല്ല, ബില്ലിലെ മറ്റേ വകുപ്പുകളും എടുത്തുനോക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ വരുന്ന ഡിസെമ്പറിൽ ആസംസാസനം രൂപവൽക്കരണമായി കഴിഞ്ഞുപോയെന്നും മൂന്നു മാസം മുമ്പെ ആരംഭിക്കണമെന്നും

[Sri K. C. Gopalan Unni]

[4th April 1953

നമ്മുടെ നാടിന്റെ ഭാവം എന്തായിത്തീർന്നുവെന്നും അതിനെ മെച്ചപ്പെടുത്താനുള്ള മാർഗ്ഗം എന്തായിരുന്നുവെന്നും തിരിഞ്ഞൊഴുകുന്ന ഒരു സമയം ആയിരിക്കണം. ഇതിനെ എങ്ങനെയാണ് നിർവ്വഹിക്കേണ്ടത്? ഇത് ജനകീയാക്ഷത്തിനും ജനാധിപത്യത്തിനും എതിരാണ് എന്നല്ല കള്ളിയപ്പോലെയോടുകൂടെ സംസാരിക്കേണ്ടത്. സാർ, ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ നയം ഇത്ര അധികം വ്യക്തമാക്കിയിട്ടില്ല. ദൈവിക സംഗതി ഉണ്ടായിട്ടില്ല. ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിലാഷത്തിനു എതിരായി മാത്രമേ ഇവർ പ്രവർത്തിക്കാൻ തയ്യാറുള്ളൂ എന്നു ഇനി കൂടുതൽ കൃത്യമായി വ്യക്തമായി വരുമ്പോൾ, വളരെ പഴക്കമുള്ള ഡിസ്ട്രിക്റ്റ് ബോഡ്, മുനിസിപ്പാലിറ്റിസ് ആക്ടുകൾക്ക് ശേഷം അതിന്റെ പ്രവാർദ്ധങ്ങൾ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് നിയമിച്ച കമ്മിറ്റിയുടെ റിപ്പോർട്ട് ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ മുമ്പാകെ വളരെ കാലമായി ഉണ്ടായിട്ടും അതിനെ സമ്പൂർണ്ണമായും പുനഃര്രചന ചെയ്തുവാൻ ഗവണ്മെന്റിനു സാധിച്ചില്ല. പ്രജാധിപത്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടി നിലകൊള്ളുന്ന ഒരു ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെയും അതുവഴി ഇവിടെ ഈ നാട്ടിലെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ അഭിലാഷത്തിനും അഭിലാഷത്തിനും അനുസരിച്ച് ഡിസ്ട്രിക്റ്റ് ബോഡ് കളെയും, മുനിസിപ്പാലിറ്റികളെയും ഇന്നത്തെ അധികാരങ്ങൾ വിപ്ലവകരിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് അധികാരമായി തിരിഞ്ഞൊഴുകുക നടത്താൻ വലിയ വിഷമമുണ്ടെന്നു തോന്നുന്നു. ആദ്യം സംസ്ഥാനത്തിന്റെ കൗൺസിൽ ഇതു നീട്ടിവെക്കണമെന്നില്ല. അതിന്റെ സ്കോപ്പുള്ള പ്രദേശങ്ങളിൽ തിരിഞ്ഞൊഴുകുക നിർവ്വഹിക്കാം. മറ്റുള്ള ജില്ലകളിൽ തിരിഞ്ഞൊഴുകുക നടത്താൻ ഗവണ്മെന്റിനു യാതൊരു വിഷമവുമില്ല. പഞ്ചായത്തബോഡ് തിരിഞ്ഞൊഴുകുക നടക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. മറ്റു കൗൺസിൽ കമ്മിറ്റികൾ. ഇങ്ങനെ ഇതിന്റെ ഈ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ District Board തിരിഞ്ഞൊഴുകുക നടത്താൻ സാധ്യമല്ല, അതിനുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥരാകട്ടെ കഴിവില്ല എന്നു പറയുന്നതു യഥാർത്ഥമല്ല എന്നു മാത്രമേ എനിക്ക് പറയാൻ വേണ്ടൂ.

* SRI S. N. SOMAYAJULU :—“கனம் உதவி சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே ! ஜில்லா போர்டுகளுக்கு ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்கள் நியமிக்கும் மசோதாவை நான் ஆதரிக்கிறேன். அதற்குக் காரணம் என்னவென்பதை பரிசீலனை செய்து பார்க்கும்படியாக நான் எதிர்க்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்களையும், எங்கள் பக்கத்தில் இருக்கக்கூடிய ஜில்லா போர்டு தலைவர்கள், அங்கத்தினர்கள் முதலியவர்களையும் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். சென்ற சட்டசபை கூட்டத் தின்போது இது விஷயமாக கணிசமான ஒரு முடிவுக்கு வந்தோம். அதாவது இவ்வாண்டு ஜூன்மீ 30-ந்தேதிக்குள் ஜில்லா போர்டு மெம்பர்கள் என்ன ஆயுள் முடிந்துவிடும், அதற்குப் பின்னால் தேர்தலை நடத்துவது என்று ஒரு நியாயமான முடிவை அடைந்தோம். அந்தக் கூட்டத்திற்குப் பிறகு நாட்டில் நாம் எதிர்பார்க்காத காரியங்கள் பல நடந்து விட்டன என்பதை கனம் அங்கத்தினர்கள் சிந்தித்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். ஆந்திர மாகாணப் பிரிவினை சம்பந்தமான கிளர்ச்சி உச்ச நிலையை அடைந்து விட்டது. பொட்டி ஸ்ரீராமலு மாகாணப் பிரிவினைக்காக பிராணத்தியாகம் செய்தார். அதைத்தொடர்ந்து ஆந்திராவிலே பெரிய கிளர்ச்சி ஏற்பட்டதும், இந்தியப் பிரதம மந்திரி பார்லிமெண்டில் அறிக்கை விடுத்ததும், ஆந்திர மாகாணப் பிரிவினை சம்பந்தமான விஷயங்கள் எல்லாவற்றையும் பரிசீலனை செய்ய ஜெஸ்ட்டில் வாஞ்சவை மத்திய சர்க்கார் நியமித்ததையும் அனைவரும் அறிவர். பிரிவினை சம்பந்தமான ஏற்பாடுகள் ஜூராக நடந்து கொண்டிருக்கின்றன. அதே சமயத்தில் இன்றையதினம் இரண்டு ஜில்லாக்கள் ஸஸ்லேமிரா நிலையில் இருந்துக்கொண்டிருக்கின்றன. பெல்லாரி ஜில்லாவின் இரண்டு தாலுகாக்கள் ஆந்திராவுடன் இணைக்கப்படுவதாக இருக்கின்றன. இதை எதிர்த்து பெல்லாரியைச் சேர்ந்த மானவர்கள் ஹர்தால் செய்வதும், கோஷமிட்டுக்கொண்டு ஊர்வலம் போவதும், ரயிலை நிறுத்தவதும் ஆரம்பமாகிவிட்டன. ஆகவே அந்த ஜில்லாவின் நிலைமை ஸஸ்லேமிராவாக இருக்கிறது. அதேபோலவே சித்தூர் ஜில்லாவிலே தமிழ் மாகாணத்துடன் இணைந்து இருக்கவேண்டுமென்பதற்காக பல கிளர்ச்சிகள் நடந்துகொண்டிருக்கின்றன. அப் பிரதேசங்களை ஆந்திராவுடன் சேர்த்திருக்கிறார்கள். இதற்கு எல்லைக் கமிஷன் நியமிப்பதா? நியமிப்பதால் எப்பொழுது என்பதாகவெல்லாம் பல தகராறுகள் நாளுக்கு நாள் பிரிவினை

4th April 1953]

[Sri S. N. Somayajulu]

சம்மந்தமாகக் கிளம்பிக்கொண்டிருக்கின்றன. இந்த மாதிரியாகப் பிரிவினைப் பிரச்சினை பேசப்படும் காலத்தில் தேர்தலை சிறிது ஒத்திப்போடுவது நல்லது. இடைக்காலத்தில் தற்பொழுது பதவியில் இருப்பவர்களின் பதவி காலத்தை பெரும்பாலானவர்கள் விரும்பாததால் சர்க்காரே ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களை நியமித்து நிர்வாகம் தொடர்ந்து நடைபெறும்படியாக பார்த்துகொள்ளவே இந்த மசோதா கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கிறதென்பதை நமது முதல் மந்திரி ராஜாஜியும் ஸ்தல ஸ்தாபன மந்திரியும் விளக்கினார்கள். இதைச் சிலர் எதிர்க்கிறார்கள். ஆந்திரர்களும் தேர்தல் வேண்டுமென்கிறார்கள்; தமிழர்களும் தேர்தல் வேண்டுமென்கிறார்கள். அவ்வித மிருக்க தேர்தலை ஏன் நடத்தக்கூடாது? ஆந்திர மாகாணப் பிரிவினை எப்படி குறுக்கே நிற்கின்றது என்பதாக வாதம் செய்கிறார். இவ்விதம் வாதிப்பவர்கள் சர்க்காருக்கு எதிராக வாதம் செய்யவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகவே இப்படி உணர்ச்சி வயப்பட்டு பேசுகின்றார்களே அன்றி நிதானமாக, யோசித்துப் பார்த்தார்களா என்பதை நான் தெரிந்துக்கொள்ள முடியவில்லை. தற்போது இருக்கும் ஜில்லா போர்டு அங்கத்தினர்களின் பதவிக் காலத்தை நீடிப்பதை யாரும் விரும்பவில்லை யென்பதைத் தெரிந்து கொண்டு கனம் ராஜாஜி ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களை நியமிப்பது என முடிவுக்கு வந்துள்ளார்கள். தேர்தல் நடத்தினால் காங்கிரஸ் காரர்கள் தோற்றுப் போய்விடுவார்கள் என்ற அச்சத்தால் அவர் அவ்விதம் சொல்லவில்லை. மகத்தான கிளர்ச்சிக்குப் பின் பல நாட்களாகத் தவம் கிடந்துகொண்டிருந்த ஆந்திர மாகாணம் கைக்குக் கிட்டியிருக்கும் சமயம் வாய்த்துள்ளது. ஆந்திர மாகாணம் பூரணமாக அமைக்கப்படவேண்டுமென்றால் ஆந்திராவிலுள்ள சகல கட்சிகளுக்கும் கணிசமான ஒத்துழைப்பும, ஒற்றுமையும் நிலவ வேண்டியது அவசியம். அதிர்ஷ்டவசமாக இன்றையதினம் சுமுகமான சூழ்நிலை நிலவி வருகிறது. இச் சமயத்தில் தேர்தலைக் கொண்டுவரப் புகுத்தினால், காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் சும்மா இருக்க மாட்டார்கள். கம்யூனிஸ்ட்களும் சும்மாயிருக்க மாட்டார்கள். கே.எம்.பி. கட்சியும் வாளா இருக்காது. அவரவர்கள் தங்கள் கட்சிக்கு வேண்டிய பலத்தைத் திரட்ட, தங்கள் கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்கள் ஜில்லா போர்டுகளில் வெற்றிபெற, தொகுதிகளிலே ஒரு கட்சியை மற்றொரு கட்சி தாக்கிப் பேசிவோட்டு சேகரிக்க வேண்டியதும், அப்படிப்பட்ட சூழ்நிலை ஏற்படுமாயின் இன்று நிலவி வரும் சுமுக ஒற்றுமை நிச்சயமாக பாதிக்கும். அதனால் பிரிவினை சம்பந்தமான பல விஷயங்களிலும் அதன் தாக்குதல், எதிர்ப்பு பலமாக இருக்கும். இவைகளை கருத்தில் வைத்துக் கொண்டு இன்றையதினம் தேர்தலைக் கொண்டுவரப் புகுத்துவது சரியல்ல, தேர்தலை நடத்துவதற்குத் தக்க சூழ்நிலை அல்ல இது. தேர்தலை ஒத்திப்போட்டு ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களை சர்க்கார் நியமிக்க உத்தேசித்திருக்கிறது. இதயாதி காரணங்களால் மசோதாவை ஆதரிக்க வேண்டுமென்று ஸ்தல ஸ்தாபன மந்திரி கோருகிறார். இதை எல்லாரும் ஆதரிக்க வேண்டியதும் மிகவும் அவசியமாகும்.

“இரண்டாவதாக இன்றையதினம் ஜில்லா போர்டுகளில் இருக்கக்கூடிய எல்லாத் தலைவர்களையும் கணக்கெடுத்துப் பார்த்தால் பெரும்பாலாக இருக்கக்கூடிய தலைவர்கள் எல்லோரும் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள். அவர்கள் எல்லோரும் நியாயமாகவும் நடக்கலாம். சில சில இடங்களில் சில தவறுதலான காரியங்களும் நடந்திருக்கலாம். ஜில்லா போர்டு அங்கத்தினர்களின் பதவிக் காலம் இனிமேல் நீடிக்கக்கூடாது. ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்கள் நியமிக்கப்படுவர் என கனம் ராஜாஜி சொல்வதை ஆதரித்து தங்கள் பதவிகளையும் இழக்கத்தயாராய், தியாகம் செய்ய முடிவு செய்து விட்டார்கள். அவர்கள் மனமுவந்து தியாகம் செய்ய முன்வந்ததை கவனித்தால் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுக்கு பதவியில் நீடித்திருக்க வேண்டுமென்று ஆசையிருப்பதாக எவரனுமே சொல்ல முடியுமா? காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுக்கு பதவியில் நீடித்திருக்க வேண்டுமென்று ஆசையில்லை. தாங்களே திரும்பவும் பதவிக்கு வரவேண்டும், எனையோர்கள் வரக்கூடாது எனும் கெட்ட எண்ணமும் துளிக்கூட கிடையாது என்பதை நன்றாக, நிதானமாக யோசித்துப் பார்க்கக்கூடியவர்கள், ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களை நியமிப்பதற்கு அவர்கள் சம்மதித்த திருந்து, தெரிந்து கொள்ளலாம்.

[Sri S. N. Somayajulu]

[4th April 1953]

12-20 “மற்றும் சில அங்கத்தினர்கள் பேசுவது ரொம்பவும் விசித்திரமாக
p.m. இருக்கிறது. இந்த சர்க்காருக்குத் தேர்தலைக் கண்டாலேயே நடுக்கம் ஏற்
பட்டு விட்டது. தேர்தலில் நிச்சயமாகத் தோற்றுவிடுவோம் என்ற ஐயத்தா
லேயே தேர்தலை நடத்தாது ஒத்திப்போட்டு ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களை நியமித்
துக்கொண்டு இடைக்காலத்தில் தங்களுக்குச் சாதகமான ஒரு சூழ்நிலையை
ஏற்படுத்திக் கொள்ளவே தேர்தலை கடத்த விரும்புகிறார்கள். என்பதாக
சூயக்தியாக வாதம் புரிகிறார்கள். பொதுவாகவே ஜில்லா போர்டு தேவை
களின்மீது சட்டப்படும் குற்றங்கள் எல்லாம் வாத்தியார்களை திடீர் திடீர்
என்று மாற்றிவிடுகிறார்கள்; பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை சரியாக நிர்வகிப்பது கிடை
யாது; ரேடுகள் மிகவும் மோசம்; எந்தவிதமான அக்கரையும் இவர்கள்
எடுத்துக்கொள்வதேயில்லை என்ற ரீதியிலேதான் பேசுகிறார்கள்.

“எது எவ்விதமிருந்தபோதிலும்கூட எதிர்க்கட்சிக்காரர்கள் நினைப்பது
போல காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் யாரும் தேர்தலைக் கண்டு பயப்படவில்லை. தேர்
தல் வந்தால் நாங்கள் ஜெயிக்கமாட்டோமென்று நடுங்கவில்லை. தாங்
களேதான் பதவியில் இருந்து கொண்டிருக்க வேண்டுமென்ற பேராசையும்
எங்களுக்குக் கிடையாது. தேர்தலுக்கு பயந்துகொண்டு பயங்கொள்ளிக
ளாக நாங்கள் தேர்தலை நடத்தவேண்டாம்; ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களேயே நிய
மியுங்கள் என்று சொல்லவில்லை யென். தைத் தான் நான் திட்டவாட்டமாகச்
சொல்லுகிறேன். உதாரணமாக ஒன்றைச் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். சமீபத்
தில் நடந்த பஞ்சாயத்து போர்டு, முனிசிபாலிட்டி தேர்தலிலே காங்கிரஸ்கார
கள் நூற்றுக்கு 99 விகிதம் ஜெயித்து வருகிறார்கள். காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களா
கிய நாங்கள் தேர்தலிலேயே பிறந்தவர்கள்; தேர்தலிலேயே வளர்ந்த
வர்கள்; தேர்தலிலேயே போராடியவர்கள்; தேர்தலிலேயே வெற்றி கண்டவர்
கள்; மீண்டும் வெற்றி கொண்டேயிருக்கிறவர்கள். ஆகவே நாங்கள் தேர்
தலுக்கு பயப்படவில்லை; தேர்தலுக்கு நடுங்கவில்லை. மெஜாரிட்டியாக இன்
றையதினம் பதவியில் இருந்துகொண்டிருக்கக்கூடிய நாங்கள் இருக்கப்
பட்ட சூழ்நிலையை உத்தேசித்து தியாகம் செய்ய மனமுவந்து முன்வந்தி
ருக்கிறோம். தங்கள் பதவிக்காலத்தை நீடிக்க வேண்டுமென்று யாரும்
வற்புறுத்தவில்லை. அதிலிருந்தே அவர்களுக்குப் பதவியில் நீடித்திருக்க
வேண்டுமென்ற ஆசை கிடையாது என்பதை ஒருவாறு எல்லோரும் உணர்ந்து
கொள்ளலாம். நாங்கள் ஜனநாயக முறைப்படியேதான் நடக்க விரும்புகி
றோம். ஜனநாயகத்திற்கு விரோதமான எந்தக் காரியத்தையும் நாங்கள்
செய்யமாட்டோம். செய்யும்படியாகத் தூண்டினாலும்கூட செய்யமாட்
டோம். அவ்வாறு செய்பவர்களுக்கும் உடந்தையாகவும் இருக்கமாட்டோம்
என்று இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் சொல்லிக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“கடந்த தேர்தலிலே காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் தமிழ்நாட்டில் பெருவாரியாக
வெற்றிபெற்றார்கள். எதிர்க்கட்சிக்காரர்கள் வெகு சில ஸ்தானங்களையே
கைப்பற்ற முடிந்தது. சில ஸ்தானங்களில் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் தோற்றா
கள். அவ்விதமிருந்தும் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சிக்கு இந்தத் தேர்தலில் பெரிம்தோல்வி
ஏற்பட்டுவிட்டது. எனலும், காங்கிரஸ் கட்சிக்காரர்களின் ஆட்சியை மக்கள் எல்
லோரும் வெறுப்பது போலவும் பேசுவது சரியல்ல. “பூனை கண்ணை மூடித்
கொண்டு விட்டால் உலகமே அந்தமதித்துப் போய்விட்டதுபோல எண்ணுமாம்.”
அதைப் போல ஓரளவு ஸ்தானங்களிலே எதிர்க்கட்சிக்காரர்கள் அஜயித்து
விட்டால் எல்லா இடங்களிலுமே அவர்கள் ஜெயித்துவிட்டவர்கள் போல
எண்ணிக்கொண்டு பேசுவது முறையல்ல. சரியானதொரு சந்தர்ப்பம் வரும்
பொழுது காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களாகிய நாங்கள் தேர்தலுக்குப் பயந்தோமா தைரி
யமாக இருந்தோமா யென்பதை நிரூபித்துக் காட்டுவோம். இன்றைய
தினம் ஆந்திர பிரிவினை சம்பந்தமான காரியம் ஜனநாயக நடந்தகொண்
டிருப்பதால்தான் இடையே தேர்தல் பூசல கிளப்பிவிடவேண்டாமென்று
தான் தேர்தலை ஒத்திப்போடவேண்டுமென்று சர்க்கார் விரும்புகிறது.
பெரும்பாலான அங்கத்தினர்களும் இதை விரும்புகிறார்கள். அதற்காகத்
தான் நாங்கள் இந்த மசோதாவை ஆதரிக்கிறோம். இடைக்காலத்தில்
தாராளமாக ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களை நியமிக்கலாமென்கிறோம். இதைத்
தவிர வேறு எந்தவிதமான காரணமும் கிடையாது. நாங்கள் ஒருக்காலும்
தேர்தலுக்குப் பயப்படவில்லை. ஆந்திராவிலுள்ள கட்சியின் நிர்வாகத்தை
உத்தேசித்துச் சொல்லுகிறேன். கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சியின் நன்மையையும் உத்

[Sri S. N. Somayajulu]

தேசித்துச் சொல்லுகிறேன். ஆந்திர மாகாணம் ஏற்படுவதற்கு ஆந்திரா வுள்ள கட்சிகள் எல்லாவற்றிடையேயும் ஒற்றும இருப்பது மிகவும் இன்றியமையானது. ஆகவே இச் சமயத்தில் தேர்தலைக் கொண்டு போய் புகுத்தினால் பல பூசல்கள் ஏற்படும். ஒரு கட்சி மற்றொரு கட்சியைத் தாக்க நேரிடும். அதனால் மாறுபட அபிப்பிராயங்கள் ஏற்படும். இந்த விரோதத்தால் ஒரு பொதுவான விஷயத்தில் ஐக்கியம் ஏற்படாது தேர்தலை ஒத்திப்போட்வண்டுமென்ற சர்க்காரின் போசீனையை கனம் அங்கத்தினர்கள் ஒருமுகமாக ஆதரிக்கவேண்டியது ரொம்பவும் அவசியமாகும். ஆகவே விரும்பி வெறுப்பு இன்றி ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீஸர்களை இடைக்காலத்தில் ஏற்படுத்துவதை எல்லோரும் ஆதரிக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டு என் வாரித்தையை முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். ”

“SRI G. C. KONDAYYA:—“ఉపాధ్యక్ష, జిల్లా బోర్డులను రద్దుచేయుటకుగాను ప్రభుత్వంవారు తీసుకొనివచ్చిన ఈ బిల్లు ప్రజాస్వామ్య సూత్రాలకి విరుద్ధమైనటువంటిది. ప్రజలకు దఖలు చేయబడిన స్వతంత్రపాలనాధికారాన్ని రద్దుచేయుటకే ఇది ఉద్దేశించబడింది. స్థానిక పరిపాలన విషయములగురించి కూడా ప్రజలు జోక్యం కలగజేసుకొనుట అరకట్టుకుకే ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈ ఎత్తు పోతున్నారు. ఇదివరలో బ్రిటిష్ ప్రభుత్వంవారు కూడా ఇటువంటి అభివృద్ధి నిరోధక మంథాను అనుసరించేవారు. ఈ నాడు కాంగ్రెస్ వారు బ్రిటిష్ సామ్రాజ్యవాదుల ఆదుగుబాడలలో నడుస్తున్నారనుటకు ఇది ప్రబల నిదర్శనం. ప్రభుత్వ పక్షానికి అనుకూలమైనవారే ఈ స్థానిక సంస్థలను నడిపించవలెననే ఆధికార వ్యక్తి రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని ఈ బిల్లును ప్రవేశపెట్టుటకు లింగొల్లిపదని తావించవలసియిస్తుంది. ఇందుకు అంగ్రరాష్ట్ర కర్తాణము ఒక సాక్షిగా మాత్రమే చూపబడింది. అంగ్ర రాష్ట్రం కర్వుడగుచు ఉన్నవల్ల జిల్లా బోర్డుల ఎన్నికను ఎందుకు నిలుపుదలచేయవలెనో మనస్కం. రాష్ట్ర సర్కారు సమయంలో వివిధ పక్షములవారి మధ్య సుహృద్భావం పెరుగవలెనని, ఎన్నికలు జరిగినట్లుంటే ఇందుకు అవకాశముండదని సార్వత్రికములు, విద్యేపాలు పెరుగవలెనని రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు కారణం చెబుతున్నారు. ఈ కారణం ఎంతమాత్రం సరిబడదనికాదు. నిజంగా అంధులపట్ల రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి సహృద్భావం ఉన్నదా అనే విషయం సందేహస్పదం. జిల్లా బోర్డులను రద్దుచేయడం కేలం తన తాపేక్షలకు వాటిని వస్థుగించుటకు మాత్రమేకాని వేరుకాదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఎప్పుడో రీలల తరువాత అంగ్ర రాష్ట్రం విచ్ఛిన్నమౌతుంది. అందుకు ఇప్పటినుంచి జిల్లా బోర్డులను రద్దుచేస్తామని వాటిని Special Officer ల హస్తగతం చేస్తామని అందం ఎంతమాత్రం భావ్యంకాదు. ఆధికార వ్యాపారం, ముదాతత్వమే రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని ఇందుకు పురిగొల్పినవని మరల తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. ప్రజాస్వామ్య సిద్ధాంతాల ప్రసక్తివారు పెట్టుకొనిరు. వారికి అనువుగా ఉన్నట్లు తోచినప్పుడు ఏ కుంటి నాకో ముప్పి ప్రజాస్వామ్య విధానాలను వర్చుచేయడమే వారి సాంప్రదాయంగా కనపిస్తోంది. బ్రిటిష్ వారి హయాములో జిల్లా బోర్డులు వారి ఆమాయాముల చేతులలో లేనప్పుడు ఏకో కుంటినాకులు చూపి వాటిని రద్దుచేసి Special Officer ల చేతులలో ఉంచేవారు. అదే విధంగా ఈనాడు రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు జిల్లా బోర్డులను రద్దుచేసి వారి చెప్పు చేతలలో ములగే ఉద్యోగులకు అప్పగిస్తామని చెబుతున్నారు. జిల్లా బోర్డులకు ఎన్నికలు జరిగినందువల్ల ఇప్పుడు వచ్చే కష్టపట్టాలేమో బోధపడకుండా ఉన్నది. ఈనాడు విశాఖ పట్నం, కృష్ణాను గోదావరి జిల్లాలలో శాసన సభకు ఎన్నికలు జరుగవలెన్నాయి. శాసన సభ ఎన్నికలు జరుగవచ్చునుగాని జిల్లా బోర్డులకు ఎన్నికలు జరిగరాదనడంలో సబబు, సందర్భం ఎంతవరకు ఉన్నదో సభ్యులు గుర్తించుకొనరాను. రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి న్యాయాన్యాయాలతోను, ప్రజాస్వామిక సూత్రాలతోను ఎంతమాత్రం సంబంధంలేదు. వారి ముసలి మనస్సులో ఏకో తోపాలు బనిస్తాయి. వాటిని కార్యరూపంలో పెట్టడానికి

[Sri G. C. Kondayya] [4th April 1953]

వారు విమర్శించే నా అవలంబిస్తారు. వివాదపడేనా చేస్తారు. ఇదీ వారి కి
పాలనా విధానం, ఇదీ వారి నిష్పక్షపాత, న్యాయధర్మ ప్రవృత్తి. కేవలం ధర్మతోధం
తోను, తానేదో న్యాయంగా ప్రవర్తిస్తున్నానని చెప్పుకోవడంలాను శాసన సభ్యులను,
ప్రజలను మధ్య పెట్టడంలాడం కేవలం ఆడియన్ మాత్రమేకని వారు గుర్తించుకోవాలి
(హస్తం.)

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p.m.

“ములాతశ్యం, లంఘ్యప్రియత్వం పెచ్చు పెరిగిపోవుట వల్లనే ఈ బిల్లు కేబడింది.
ముఖ్యంగా ఆంధ్రదేశంలో రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి ముఠావారి ప్రాబల్యం పెంచుటకే
ఇది ఉద్దేశించబడింది. నేనున్న జిల్లా బోర్డుల అధ్యక్షులలో చాలామంది ప్రజావిశ్వాస
సాన్ని కోల్పోయిన వారు. వారిని వెంటనే తొలగించవలసిన అవసరమున్నది. వారి
స్థానాన్ని ప్రజావిశ్వాసాన్ని చూరగొనినవారు అధికారంలోనికి రావాలి. ఇటువంటి
మార్పు రావడం రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి ఇష్టంలేదు. అందువల్లనే ప్రస్తుతమున్న
జిల్లా బోర్డులను రద్దుచేసి వాటిని తమ ముఠా ప్రాబల్యంతో సం ఉపయోగించుకోవాలని
రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఎత్తువేశారు. ఆంధ్ర కాష్ట్ర విభజనను ఇందుకోక సాకుగా
మాత్రమే వారు చూపుతున్నారు. అసలు వారి ఆంతర్యం వేరు మనస్సులో ఒక
ఉద్దేశంతోగివుంటే వెకి మరొక విధంగా వాదించడంలో రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు కడు
సమర్థులు. (హస్తం.) జిల్లా బోర్డులకు special officers ను నియమించుటకు బదులు
అయీ జిల్లాలోని ఉభయ శాసనసభల సభ్యులను చేర్చి ఒక సంఘంగా ఏర్పరచి
తాత్కాలికంగా బోర్డులను వారి పర్యవేక్షణక్రింద ఉంచడం చాలామంచిది. ఇప్పుడు
జిల్లా బోర్డులకు special officers ను నియమించబోతున్నారంటే, వారివల్ల లంచ
గొండితనము ప్రబలుతుందేగాని మరేమీ ప్రయోజనముండదు. అప్పుడు జిల్లా బోర్డు పరిపాలన
అంతా ఒక నియంతృత్వ విధానములో కొనసాగించబడుతుంది. ప్రజల పరిస్థితులు,
కష్టసుఖాలు ఈ special officers కు స్వయముగా తెలియకపోగా నష్టము వచ్చినట్లు
పరిపాలన సాగిస్తారు. ఈ విధానములో అసలు democratic principle అనేది
బొత్తిగా పోతుంది. ప్రజాస్వామికము, ప్రజా ప్రభుత్వము అని చెప్పుకొనే ఈ
ప్రభుత్వము ఈ జిల్లా బోర్డులకు special officers ను నియమించే విధానాన్ని ఎట్లు
అనుసరిస్తున్నదో ఆర్థం కావడంలేదు. ఈ మంత్రులు వీరి ప్రభుత్వము ఉండుటకు
మాత్రము పరిజాస్వామిక సిద్ధాంతము పరిస్థితుది గాని జిల్లా బోర్డుల పరిపాలనకు
ఈ సిద్ధాంతము వర్తించదా అని అడుగుదున్నాను. ఇప్పుడున్న జిల్లా బోర్డు ప్రెసి
డెంట్లమీద నష్టకములేదంటూ, వీరి స్థానాన్ని special officers ను నియమిస్తున్నామని
అంటున్నారు. అయితే, నేను ఒక విషయము అడుగుతున్నాను. మాజీ ప్రభుత్వము
లోను, ముఖ్యమంత్రి రాజగోపాలాచారిలోను నష్టకం లేదంటే, మంత్రివర్గాన్ని ఈ
ప్రభుత్వాన్ని రద్దుచేసి గవర్నరు పరిపాలనకు అంగీకరిస్తారా? ఇది మాత్రము ఎందుకు
కాకూడదని అడుగుదున్నాను. మీ ప్రభుత్వము, మీ మంత్రివర్గము శ్రుంధేందుకు మాత్రము
ప్రజాస్వామిక సిద్ధాంతాన్ని ముందుపెడతారుగాని ఈ జిల్లా బోర్డుల విషయములో
ఇదే సిద్ధాంతాన్ని ఎందుకు వర్తింపజేయరు? కనుక ఇటువంటి విధానాన్ని అనుస
రిస్తున్నటువంటి ఈ ప్రభుత్వము నిజంగా ప్రజాప్రభుత్వమని అనడానికి వీలున్నదేమో
అలా చించుకోవచ్చును. కనుక, ఈ special officers ను నియమించడమనేది ప్రజా
స్వామిక సిద్ధాంతానికి విరుద్ధమైనది గాబట్టి, సభ్యులందరు, వారు ఏ పార్టీకి చెందిన
వారైనప్పటికీనీ, కాంగ్రెస్ పార్టీ సభ్యులు తదితర సభ్యులు, అందరుకూడ, ఈ
బిల్లును వ్యతిరేకించుట వారి విద్యుక్త ధర్మమని మనవిచేస్తూ ఈ బిల్లును వ్యతిరేకిస్తు
న్నాను.”

* SRI V. K. RAMASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—“Mr. Deputy
Speaker, much has been said again and again about the District

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Board elections. The other day the motion for the extension of the life of the present District Boards was defeated by a narrow majority and even though our Chief Minister gave us freedom to vote, many of us kept aloof without canvassing. Personally speaking, as I have already stated before in this House, I know that many of the Presidents of District Boards are not at all anxious to continue as presidents. ('Hear, hear.') If we had only wanted to do so, we could have canvassed support and tried to stick on. Further, Rajaji, if he is really anxious to continue the existing Presidents in office, he could have easily carried the resolution. That is the position. Now, Sir, that motion was defeated. Many of the members have also expressed the idea, that elections should take place immediately. We also pressed for election and said that special Officers should not be appointed. There were unwarranted remarks against some of the Presidents of District Boards. Take, for instance, my own district of Chingleput. My hon. Friend, Mr. Vinayakam, has been remarking about so many things that are said to be happening in my district. I may say that at his request and at the request of my other friends, I have opened many schools and formed many roads and yet it is most unfortunate that he should have cast aspersions against me. One thing, in this connection, I should say. He does not know things about Chingleput district. He is a native of Chittoor district and though he remains in Madras he talks about the Chingleput district. Further he stood in some corner of the district and was defeated in the District Board elections. That is the position. Somehow or other, he is carried away by some tales and I do not know how he is justified in making such remarks. I can prove with reference to records, whether what I have done was justified or not. (Interruption.) So far as my district is concerned—and even against my party—nobody can say anything disparaging. Whenever people come forward with requests either for the construction of roads or for the opening of dispensaries or schools, I have been doing my best in the discharge of my duties, as far as possible, consistent with rules. So also, many of my colleagues in many of the districts have been discharging their duties very faithfully. Of course, here and there some people, on account of personal animosities, might have done things in a partisan spirit. In spite of these things, it is our wish that the elections should take place immediately and nobody is anxious to have Special Officers because they will not be in touch with the masses. But there is this great difficulty, namely, on the eve of the partition, it is not at all desirable to have elections and moreover both the residuary State and the Andhra State will not be in a position to face this mass election which will have to be conducted on the Assembly election scale. That is the plea put forward by our revered leader. We agree with him in that view. But, I support this motion on the distinct understanding that he will hold elections in July and see that the district boards are entrusted to the popular presidents. If not in July, we hope that at least the elections will be held as early as possible because nobody wants the Special Officers to continue for long. (Sri T. Nagi Reddi: You support my amendment.)

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Let it come for discussion and then we will see. As I said, Sir, nobody is anxious to continue Special Officers and but for these practical difficulties even Rajaji would have considered about the elections being conducted early. Even now, I request Rajaji and he has given an assurance also to hold the elections as early as possible. Even otherwise, if elections are to take place, the boards will have to be entrusted for a period of time to the care of Collectors before elections are held and that is the proper procedure. So, Sir, I once again request the Government to hold the elections and see that the Special Officers are not continued for a long time. With these words, I support the motion."

* SRI K. VENKAIAH :—" Mr. Deputy Speaker, the Government who have brought forward this Bill have not at all been paying any attention to local self-government and its development. The provisions of the Bill show that the Government are not keen on making improvements in local self-government and give facilities to people to elect their own representatives and do things in their own way. The way in which the elections were conducted by the Government for the panchayats shows that they are not interested in democracy and elections. There are hundreds of instances where the panchayat elections were not conducted fairly and in a democratic way. Recently at Vinjamoor in the Nellore district, the election officer had been there, he conducted the elections and after the elections were over he declared elected the candidates who got lesser number of votes. In Putlagudur, the election officer did the same thing. That shows that democracy in the country is being nullified in an indirect manner. So also in the case of district boards. District boards are very important and they are constituted for giving some power to the people to manage their own affairs. Elections to several district boards were held four or five years ago, and the boards have continued for a pretty long time. During these five years, they have developed some bias and their rule has become almost bureaucratic. Teachers are transferred from one place to another indiscriminately, funds are mismanaged and roads are not properly maintained. Instead of holding fresh elections, the Government have come forward with a Bill for postponing elections and appointing Special Officers. This Bill is intended to sidetrack the main issue and deny to the people the right of having their elected representatives in the district boards. The Hon. Chief Minister and the other Hon. Ministers are repeatedly putting forward the plea of the Andhra issue for evading the main issue and for denying democracy to the people. I think it is not fair to deny democracy to the people on the plea of the formation of the Andhra State. In the course of the discussion on the non-official resolution relating to district boards, the Hon. Chief Minister said that the Andhra issue was giving trouble and that that was why the Government were proposing the postponement of the elections. I think it is very bad for him or for the Government to say that the Andhra issue is giving trouble. Andhra people expect that the Andhra State will be ushered in with the district boards consisting of members elected by the people. They do not want district boards to

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be run by Special Officers. The issue is different. The Government want to deny democracy to the people and rule the local boards through Special Officers. I request the House to reject this Bill and see that district board elections are held within a short time."

* SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I oppose this Bill in its present form and will like to support the Bill if one of the many amendments proposed could be accepted by the Government. If the Bill is allowed to pass as it is, it will be a black spot on the otherwise fair regime of Rajaji. During the days of the British imperialist rule, the leaders of the Congress, who were also the leaders of democracy, raised a hue and cry and loudly protested whenever a person of the eminence of Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Dr. R. K. Shanmugam Chetty or Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar was nominated to any public body. The leaders of the very Congress Party who then said that democracy was in danger and that the people were being deprived of their right to elect their representatives and who introduced democracy in this country are now calling upon this House consisting of elected representatives at the State level to sack the representatives at the district level and instal a one-man rule or rule by a Special Officer. I am in complete agreement with the statement made by Rajaji in the early stage of the discussion of this Bill. But who is responsible for the blunder? Rajaji seems to have been responsible for it. He rarely commits any blunder. But he committed a blunder and put this House into a confusion, and that confusion was made worse confounded by my hon. Friends belonging to the Communist Party by their attitude to the resolution seeking extension of the life of the boards. Last time when a Bill was passed for extending the term of the district boards for a period of six months, it was solemnly agreed that elections would be held so as to enable the newly-elected boards to take up office at the end of that period. Rajaji and his Government were sincere about it. But, unfortunately, as has been said by Rajaji, the Andhra partition question has been precipitated, we in Tamilnad have been subjected to a series of famine, drought and other natural calamities and there are difficulties at every stage. Rajaji does not want to distract the attention of the Andhra people from the formation of the Andhra State so that the new State may blossom forth and prosper. We of the residuary State are prepared to give our blessing and all co-operation for starting the new State on a peaceful footing. With that object in view, he brought forward this Bill. But why did he make the mistake of permitting a member of his party to move a resolution for the extension of the term of the district boards? If he was not sure of holding elections, he should not have given the permission. Having got the verdict of the House that the term of district boards should not be extended, the alternative is to hold elections immediately. When the Members of the Communist Party voted against the resolution, I believe they had in their mind that elections would be held immediately. But they did not make it plain on the floor of this House. I and those other members with me and around me who voted for the

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resolution did so because we were convinced that the Government were not in a position to hold elections immediately. If the alternative is the appointment of Special Officers, it will be preferable to extend the term of the members and presidents of district boards for a further period of six months and nothing will be lost thereby. My friends of the Communist Party loudly complained that Collectors were unapproachable and inaccessible and that therefore matters pertaining to district board administration could not be brought to their notice. I am one of those who think in the same strain. The usual reply of the Collectors is that they are overworked and that they do not find time to chit-chat with people on this topic or that topic. If Special Officers are appointed, how will the position improve? District Boards are concerned with vital nation-building activities which go to make the every-day life of the people happy and prosperous. If we are not given an opportunity to contact our elected representatives, but asked to contact Special Officers, I do not know what the purpose of democracy is and where we stand. If we accept the principle underlying this Bill, we will be violating the Fundamental Right contained in Article 13 (2) in Part III—Fundamental Rights—of our Constitution which says:

'The State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the rights conferred by this Part and any law made in contravention of this clause shall, to the extent of the contravention, be void.'

I do not for a moment say that we are violating it in substance. I say that we are violating it in spirit.

"I would like to know what would happen if a Member of the Legislative Council elected by electorates consisting of members of municipalities, district boards and such other local authorities in the State as may be specified, resigns and a vacancy occurs calling for the holding of a bye-election. The Leader of the Opposition raised this point and the Hon. Chief Minister did not give a reply. The reply of the Speaker on behalf of the Chief Minister was that the members of municipalities and panchayat boards would constitute the electorate. But then, district board members throughout the State are not inconsiderable in number. By appointing Special Officers, the Government are depriving the people of the right of exercising their franchise through their representatives in the district board.

"Taking the situation as a whole, I am in entire sympathy with the Government. As a democrat, I am anxious that elections should be held. Many members complain that District Board Presidents misbehave. If they misbehave, the remedy lies in the hands of voters and the leaders who can hound them out of public life if and when the time comes. The Special Officer will be a sort of a district dictator. We must look at the Government from the practical point of view. Rajaji suggested some sort of compromise. I believe the leaders of the Communist Party will be in a position to come to some compromise with him and see that democracy . . . (Interruption by Sri T. Nagi Reddi.) If the Government are also prepared, there is an end of it. And it will be a

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happy ending. I am only particular that the democracy or its element must be preserved. The difficulties of the Government must be appreciated, and they should not be put in a tight corner."

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Hon. the Chief Minister was telling us that because there were District Collectors and because there were Revenue Divisional Officers who were exercising certain functions, there should not be, and ought not to be, any objection to the very same kind of special officers exercising similar functions in the name of the district boards. That was the first contention that he put forward. The second contention was that, as a matter of fact, the district boards to-day were, what is called in Telugu *Ajakalastanam*: that means they are like the teats that hang down the jaws of the goats that serve no purpose. He made that very clear. He said that so far as public health was concerned, the powers of the Presidents of District Boards were exercised by the District Health Officers, and so far as education was concerned, the powers of the Presidents were exercised by the District Education Officers, and so on and so forth. He said that as a matter of fact the district boards were non-entities, and, therefore asked, ‘ why do you worry about them ’. While that is the position now, my contention is that it is so because we have such an irresponsible autocracy in the districts. We want a district board elected on adult franchise responsive and responsible to the people’s opinion. We think that district boards are organs not so much of power as of struggle. They are organs of struggle to increase the peoples’ will and control over the bureaucracy. If really the Congress Presidents of District Boards had not carried out the directives of the people, if they simply surrendered the powers which, as representatives of the people, they ought to exercise in favour of the people, and if they surrendered the powers in favour of the bureaucratic officials who are responsible to none but to themselves, that shows that the old franchise under which they were elected does not serve the needs of the people. A district board elected under adult franchise is qualitatively different from a district board elected under the Government of India Act, 1935. That is why we say that district board elections are long overdue. Our constitution, as you know, Sir, was passed in November 1949, and to this day district board elections have not been held. That means that there is a gap so far as the Constitution of India is concerned. We have not implemented the Constitution. The Constitution has not spread to the four corners of the land. That is why we say that the question is all the more urgent, and that is the reason why we say that the district board elections should be held very quickly and that the Bill should not be passed. Our administration in the country is in the hands of irresponsible people. There is a feeling that if it is kept in the hands of elected representatives, they would cater to the needs of one political party or another political party. In fact, that is not the position. There is also a feeling that the bureaucratic officials are above party, they are non-partisans, that they are like the statue of justice with blind eyes and so on. That is not the position. As it is, the bureaucrats take the side of the rich feudal landlords and the reactionary

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vested interests. Therefore the Congress Presidents do not feel sorry that their places are taken over by the Special Officers. They will be able to have their own say still through these Special Officers. We want to give up this kind of administration—a bureaucratic administration which is not responsive to the people, which is not elected by the people, and which the people do not consider to be their own. We want a state of things wherein the Collectors will be responsible and will be answerable through the elected representatives of the people to the district boards. We want the district boards to be for the districts what the legislative councils are for the State. We want the district boards to be district councils where the District Collector will be responsible and will be answerable, and can be dismissed at the will of the district board. That is exactly what we want. Unless we do that what happens is that even this House becomes an absolutely useless House. If we want that in a particular locality a particular thing is to be done, we will have to go to the Ministers, cajole them, and get things done. One of my friends in the Assembly was elected on an Independent ticket. He told me that he wanted to join the Congress. I asked him, 'why do you want to join the Congress party; you opposed the Congress in the election as an independent candidate'. He said, 'if I join the Congress and if I cater to the wishes of Mr. Rajagopalachari, a road can be laid out in my constituency; a particular canal can be dug in a village', etc. That is the position. The fact that district boards are not being constituted on the basis of adult franchise under the Constitution is really corrupting even this House. As a matter of fact what do we find in this House to-day? We are a House here for the entire Madras State. But we are not taking up the question for the State as a whole. As a matter of fact, we are missing the wood for the trees. If one Member talks of Coimbatore another Member talks of Nellore. So much so, we do not get a general picture of the entire State. The Assembly also is not able to concentrate upon the general problems and upon the general policy of the Government, which actually is disastrous. In fact the attention of the Assembly should be concentrated upon general questions. There is no authority right from the ordinary man in the village up to the State Assembly to enforce and voice forth the people's will. There is nobody whose voice is heard. We hear here promises of getting things done according to the wishes of the people. What we want is that the district boards must be composed of men who would consider that they should not surrender their rights and the rights of the people to a Collector, however high placed he be, and whatever may be the number of rupees that he may get as salary. That is the kind of people who will be able to safeguard the interests of the people and who would really be the champions of the democratic interests of the people. The district boards must be full of such members. We find that is not the case to-day. This will be possibly only in the case of the district boards constituted on the basis of adult franchise. Just as this Assembly is qualitatively different from the old Assembly, the district board elected under adult franchise will be

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qualitatively different from the district boards that we have to-day. We really want district boards to be constituted under adult franchise to-day, and that is why we say that elections must be conducted, and that the Bill must be opposed."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“Mr. Deputy ^{1 p.m.} Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the Bill as such. I have heard the speech made by the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari with great attention and tried to understand the arguments adduced by him. He tried his level best to sugarcoat the pill. Unfortunately, he has done it in such an open manner that any body can easily understand all his efforts or rather his tricks. Let us just take up the arguments adduced by him in putting forth his viewpoint. Nowhere has he tried to convince the House that there are great difficulties in conducting elections to district boards immediately. He did not explain the difficulties in taking that step. He did not explain the difficulties of the offices or the Heads of Departments in this connection. I know for certain that there will be no difficulty if the Government are really serious about conducting the elections. We know that on many difficult occasions elections were conducted. Now, when the Congress Party is itself in power, I do not know what difficulty there can be in conducting elections to district boards immediately. Even now, I request the Hon. the Minister for Local Administration to explain to us what the difficulties are. Supposing there is difficulty in Krishna or Guntur or any other district on account of the Andhra State question, let us take those issues one by one. The question of formation of the Andhra State is being handled by the Heads of Departments, at the top level. There will be partition committees to go into the matter. They will go through the matter and do what all is needed. Therefore, I would like to know what the district officials and the staff in the lower rung of the ladder are doing and how they are involved in this matter. I put it straight to the Hon. Minister to explain how it will be difficult for the staff to conduct the elections to district boards.

“Then, the issue of the mind of the people is raised. Of course, the mind of the people has to be taken into consideration always. Everyone to-day wants elections to district boards to be conducted immediately. This is not my opinion alone. Even an hon. Member from the other side Sri Ramaswami Mudaliar, president of one of the district boards, himself came forward and gave the assurance on behalf of the district boards that most of the presidents of the district boards wanted immediate elections. I know there are exceptions. For example, the President of the Krishna District Board will never want any election because it is certain that he will lose even his deposit if he contests any election. But I take the statement made by the hon. Gentleman at its face value that most of the presidents of the district boards wanted elections. How is it that the Congress Government do not take this opinion into consideration? We will remember that on the Resolution extending the life of the district boards, the Hon. the Chief Minister posed the issue whether we wanted extension of the life

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of the district boards or whether we wanted Special Officers to be appointed. Many Congressmen voted against the Resolution and we on our side were mainly responsible for throwing out that Resolution. We voted against it not because we wanted Special Officers to be appointed but because we did not like the extension of the life of the present district boards and we wanted immediate elections. We made it perfectly clear, all the groups in the Opposition made it clear, that elections should be conducted immediately. Knowing full well the mind of the House, the Government have now brought forward a Bill for the appointment of Special Officers. Sir, the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari wants us to believe what all he says. That being so, I expected him to give freedom of vote to all the Congress Members, on this Bill. If he had done so, he could have known the opinion of the House. He could have then known whether the whole House or even the majority was behind the proposal to appoint Special Officers. That freedom he denies to-day. He know what the result of giving of that freedom will be. Most of the Congressmen who voted for the Resolution extending the life of the present District Boards did so because they did not like the appointment of Special Officers. When that is the unanimous opinion of the House, I do not know why the Congress Ministers try to sit tight over the Members and thrust this Bill down their throats. The general consensus of opinion of the House has to be taken into consideration if they have any respect for it. If they do not care for it, they will go the same way the other Chief Ministers have gone. Taking the opinion expressed both inside and outside this House, it is clear that people generally want immediate elections. I do not understand why the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari does not appreciate the arguments put forward by others. At the same time, he wants others to keep their minds open. Of course, our minds are open. The only gentleman who does not speak out his mind is the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari. He wants others to be convinced but he does not want to be convinced himself. That is the whole trouble. I suggest to the Hon. Ministers to go to the people immediately, and hold elections. The issue of the Andhra State does not stand in the way. The Leader of the Communist Party, Sri Nagi Reddi, categorically gave the assurance that the Communist Party would see that the elections were conducted in a peaceful manner. What else do the Government want? There are only two main parties, one the Congress and its allies and the other the Communist with its allies. On our part, we have given the assurance to see that elections are conducted in a peaceful manner.

“ Now, let us take Tamil Nad. In Tamil Nad, there is no question of the Andhra State involved. What stands in the way of holding elections at least in Tamil Nad? In order to prove their *bona fides* let the Government hold elections at least in Tamil Nad. Then we may be able to appreciate what they say is correct.

“ Then, the issue of the border areas is brought in. Regarding Bellary, the question has not yet been decided. There are two alternatives so far as that district is concerned. One is to stop

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conducting elections to the district board of Bellary. The other is to hold elections even to the district board of Bellary and after the question is decided one way or the other, we can make adjustments. The Hon. the Chief Minister said that there would be a Boundary Commission, that many boundaries might be changed, and that this would all result in a wastage of money. That is the very reason why we want the elections to be conducted immediately, because what does his argument indicate? It only shows that after the partition, there will be a Boundary Commission which will take at least six or seven months to complete its deliberations and there will be further postponement of elections, not only in Andhra but also in Tamil Nad. From the very argument adduced by the Hon. the Chief Minister, it is clear that elections will not be held for long after the division of the State. In this connexion, he said 'Take my word of honour.'

(At this stage, Mr. Speaker resumed the Chair.)

"Sir, Madras State is going to be divided. In Andhra there will be a Cabinet which will not be under the control of the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari. Even in Tamil Nad there is no guarantee that the present Cabinet will continue. It is not certain that the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari will continue to be the Chief Minister of the residuary State, because he himself has said many times that he is going to resign. After the partition, there may be no need for his continuing as Chief Minister. He himself has expressed this opinion in so many ways on so many occasions. Therefore, how can we accept his word of honour? Then, there is no use, in politics, of anybody saying, 'Take my word of honour'. All these words will not convince anybody. That is not real politics. Here, we say that there is every possibility of conducting the elections in the most peaceful manner and nothing will stand in the way. (Mr. Speaker sounded the gong.) Sir, I commenced my speech only a few minutes back. You came just now."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member may take one or two minutes more."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"Sir, clause 1-10 2 (ii) provides that the Government can from time to time advance or postpone the date fixed under clause 1 and fix instead another day. It is clear from this provision that they want to postpone elections from time to time. It is going to be a permanent measure. As one of the Members put it, Rajaji may not hold elections at all. That is a possibility. Perhaps elections may take place after five years. Then, Sir, if you examine clause 3 of the Bill, you will find that the State Government can issue orders or make rules to remove any difficulty they may find in giving effect to the Act. That is, the State Government are saddling themselves with utmost powers. So, though this Bill seems to be a temporary measure it is going to be a permanent one. That is why I say this Bill should be opposed. In this connexion I appeal to the Hon. the Minister for Local Boards to go through all

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the amendments we have given notice of carefully. One of them is to appoint the local M.L.As. as advisers to the Special Officers. We are prepared to support the Bill if that amendment is accepted. If that is done, there would be some element of democracy in the step we are taking. I may assure him that hon. Members from this side will never interfere with the work of special officers unnecessarily and that they will do things only in the interests of the people. If this is done the despotic and bureaucratic nature of the measure will be removed and a really democratic process of administration evolved to run the district boards. With these words Sir, I oppose the Bill."

* SRI R. SIDDANNA GOWD :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, little did we expect that after a period of extension of the life of district boards till June arrived at by common agreement during the debate of December last the Government would come forward with a Bill of a reactionary type like the one under discussion. The Government and the party which is represented by the Government used to shout from house-tops when the District Boards were superseded and special officers were appointed in 1941 and subsequent to it that it was a reactionary step. The party in power now has also shouted and still shouts from house tops that it is the only democratic Government representing the people. It is a pity, therefore, that such a Government should come forward with a retrograde measure of this type. The proposed Bill is not calculated to enhance the prestige of the Government. It is not calculated to promote the interests of the people. Sir, every district is divided into groups or constituencies which are represented by different members who are expected to look to the needs and requirements of the people and to represent their grievances to the district board. The Special Officer, however good he may be and however sympathetic he may be, with all the goodwill in the world, is not the proper substitute for the elected representatives of the people. In the Andhra, especially in Rayalaseema, people are suffering from an acute famine and drought and the needs and requirements of the people of Rayalaseema especially in respect of communications, water-supply, etc., have to be looked after by them. Either the Collector or the Deputy Collector is going to be the Special Officer and he cannot be expected to conduct himself as an elected representative of the people and have a sympathetic heart. The bogey of the Andhra State should not scare us away and as the Chief Minister has told us perhaps the formation of Andhra State would detract our attention and prevent us from reconstituting the district boards. If the formation of the Andhra State is the reason advanced for appointing special officers, then, I think after the formation of the State, it has to concentrate its attention on stabilising itself and consolidating its position. The Andhra State cannot under any circumstances find time to reconstitute the boards and it would not be proper to throw the country into an election fever or turmoil as soon as the new State is formed. It is, therefore, necessary that the Bill should be thrown out as reactionary and retrograde.

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"The other reasons advanced by the Chief Minister are not convincing to us however eloquent he waxed before the House. I appeal to the House especially my Friends opposite, that they should act according to the courage of their convictions and not out of fear for Rajaji. If they honestly feel that this measure is calculated to set back the clock of progress and is anti-democratic, they are in duty bound to throw out the Bill. They must not fear Rajaji. They must act according to the courage of their convictions. The country is watching us with great interest and we should not betray the interests of the country and be characterised as a set of reactionary people who voted down democracy."

SRI P. G. MANICKAM :—"மதிப்பிற்குரிய சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே! ஜில்லா போர்டுகளுக்கு ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீசர்களை நியமிக்கப்படுவதென்று அவர்கள்மெண்டு கொண்டுவந்திருக்கும் இந்த மசோதாவை ஆதரித்து சில வார்த்தைகளைப் பேச விரும்புகிறேன். ஜில்லா போர்டின் ஆயுளை நீடிக்க வேண்டுமென்று கொண்டுவரப்பட்ட ஒரு தீர்மானம் தோற்கடிக்கப்பட்டது எல்லோருக்கும் ஓர்ப்பும் இருக்கலாம். அந்தத் தீர்மானம் ஒரு சொற்ப மெஜாரிட்டியினால் தான் தோற்கடிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அதனால் என்ன விளங்குகிறது என்றால் ஜில்லா போர்டு ஆயுளை நீடிக்கவேண்டுமென்று அநேகம் பேர்களுக்கு விருப்பம் இருந்தாலும் அதோ ஒரு சிலருடைய ஆட்சேபணையினால்தான் அது தோற்றுவிட்டது. காங்கிரஸ்காரருடைய ஆட்சேபணையினால் மட்டும் அல்லது மற்ற கட்சியினுடைய அபிப்பிராயத் தினால்தான் அந்தத் தீர்மானம் தோற்றுப்போய்விட்டது.

"எனக்கு முன் பேசியவர்கள் அவர்களுடைய ஜில்லா போர்டுகளின் குறைகளைக் கூறவேண்டும் என்று அவரவர்களுடைய ஜில்லா போர்டின் குறைகளைப்பற்றி பேசினார்கள். ஆனால் எல்லா ஜில்லா போர்டுகளும் இந்த நிலைமையில் இல்லை. சில ஜில்லா போர்டுகள் நன்றாக நடந்து வருகின்றன என்பதை நான் Prove பண்ணுகிறேன். நானும் கோயமுத்தூர் ஜில்லா போர்டு அங்கத்தினரை இருக்கிறேன். கனம் தகாதன் பேசும்போது ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு ஜில்லா போர்டுகளில் ஒரு வேலையும் செய்வ தில்லை. அங்கிருக்கும் அங்கத்தினர்களைத்தான் President-னுடைய கை போம்மைகளாக இருந்துகொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதனால் ஒரு வேலையும் செய்வதில்லை என்று சொன்னார். ஆனால் என்னுடைய ஜில்லா போர்டு சம்பந்தப்பட்டவரையில் நான் சொல்லிக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். எங்களுடைய கோயமுத்தூர் ஜில்லா போர்டில் அநேகம் காரியங்கள் செய்து கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். எங்கள் ஜில்லா போர்டின் முயற்சியால் ஹரிஜனங் களுக்கு எலிமெண்டரி பாடசாலைகளை அமைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஹரிஜனப் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு புஸ்கங்கள் வாங்கிக்கொள்வதற்கு தீர்மானம் கொண்டு வந்து சிபார்சு செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதனால் எலிமெண்டரி ஸ்கூல்களில் ஹரிஜனப் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு புஸ்தகங்கள் வழங்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன என்பதை தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். கோயமுத்தூர் ஜில்லாவிலிருக்கும் ஹரிஜன ஹாஸ்டல்களில் பையன்களுக்கு ஒரு வருஷத்திற்கு ரூ. 11 வீதம் கிரான்ட் கொடுக்கிறார்கள். அத்துடன் ஜில்லா போர்டு மூலமாக ஒவ்வொன்றையும் ஒழுங்கு செய்துகொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அத்துடன் Harijan Welfare Department கவான்மெண்டு உதவியின் மூலமாக அங்கங்கே வீடுகள் கட்டிக்கொடுக்கிறார்கள். கிணறுகள் வெட்டிக்கொடுக்கிறார்கள். ஏற்கனவே இருக்கும் கிணறுகளை repair செய்தும் கொடுக்கிறார்கள் மற்ற இடங்களிலிட கோவை ஜில்லாவில் ஜில்லா போர்டுபத்து மடங்கு அதிமாக ஹரிஜனங் களுக்கு செளகரியம் செய்து வருகிறது. அதேபோல கிணறுகளும் வெட்டிக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். கூடுமானவரைக்கும் ஹரிஜன ஆசிரியர் களுக்கும் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கும் வேலைதேடி கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். President அவர்களும் எவ்வளவோ எந்தழைத்து வருகிறார் என்பதை ஓர்ப்புபடுத்த விரும்புகிறேன். எவ்வளவோ இடங்களில் நல்ல நிதமாக ஜில்லா போர்டு President-கள் நடந்துகொண்டு வருகிறார்கள் என்பதைக் குறிப்பிட விரும்புகிறேன்.

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[Sri P. G. Manickam]

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“அடுத்தபடியாக ஜில்லா போர்டுகளுக்கு ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீசர்களைப் போட்டால் இந்த ஜில்லாக்கள் நிர்வாகம் சரியானபடி நடக்குமா அல்லது நடைபெறாமல் போய்விடுமா என்பதுதான் சந்தேகம். ஆகவே எல்லா மெம்பர்களும் ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீசர்கள் நியமிப்பதைப்பற்றி வருத்தத்தை தெரிவித்துக்கொண்டார்கள். அதேமாதிரி நானும் வருத்தத்தை தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். அவ்விதம் ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீசரை நியமித்தால் ஹரிஜன நன்மையையும் ஜில்லா போர்டு நிர்வாகத்தையும் சரிவர கவனிப்பாரா அல்லது கவனிக்கமாட்டாரா என்பதுதான் எங்களுக்கு சந்தேகமாக இருக்கிறது. மறு எலெக்ஷன் நடைபெறும் வரையில் ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்ற வேலை நடைபெறுமா அதுவும் தொடர்ச்சியாக நடக்குமா என்பதுதான் சந்தேகமாக இருக்கிறது. ராஜாஜி கொன்ன பிரகாரம் கூடிய சீக்கிம் தேர்தல் வரலாம். மறுபடியும் காரியங்கள் நடைபெறலாம். ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீசர்கள் நியமிப்பதால் இவைகள் சரிவர நடக்குமா என்பதுதான் சந்தேகமாக இருக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது பஞ்சம் அதிகமாக இருக்கிறது. ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீசர்களை நியமித்தால் நாலு மாதம், ஆறு மாதம். ஒரு வருஷம் அவர்கள் இருந்தாலும், அவர்கள் எவ்வளவு காலம் இருந்தாலும் அவர்கள் முக்கியமாக சவனிக்கவேண்டியது அவர்கள் அங்கங்கே பஞ்ச நிவாரண வேலைகளை தொடர்ந்து நடத்த வேண்டும் அதற்கு முழுப் பொறுப்பையும் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். முக்கியமாக அதை நான் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இந்த பஞ்ச காலத்தில் மிகவும் பாதிக்கப்படுகிறவர்கள் நெரு ஹரிஜனங்கள் தான். ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீசர்கள் முக்கியமாக இந்த வேலைகளில் பங்கெடுத்துக் கொள்ளவேண்டும் கிணறுகள் வெட்டுவது முதலியவைகளில் சவனம் லெ லுத் தவேண்டும். கலெக்டர்டன் சம்பந்தம் வைத்துக்கொண்டு எல்லா காரியங்களையும் செய்துவரவேண்டும். அதற்குத் தகுந்தார்போல் கவர்ன்மென்டு அவர்களுக்கு ஒரு warning கொடுக்கும்படியாகவும் நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“ஆகவே அதிகமாக இதைப்பற்றி பேசுவதற்கு ஒன்றுமே இல்லை. இந்த மிசாதாவை ஆதரித்து என்னுடைய பேச்சை இத்துடன் முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* **RI A. GOVINDASWAMI NAYAGAR :** —“கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, இப்பொழுது ஸ்தலஸ்தாபன் மந்திரி அவர்கள் ஜில்லா போர்டுகளுக்கு ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீசர்களை நியமிக்க வேண்டுமென்று கொண்டு வந்திருக்கும் மிசாதாவை நான் எதிர்க்கிறேன். ஜனநாயகத்தில் நம்பிக்கையுள்ள கட்சி காங்கிரஸ்தான் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள் ஆனால் ஜனநாயகத்தை கொலை செய்யும் கட்சி ஒன்று இருக்கிறது என்று சொன்னால் அது இந்த காங்கிரஸே தவிர வேறு ஒன்றுமில்லை என்பதை நான் நிரூபிப்படுத்த விரும்புகிறேன். ஜனநாயகமானது டில்லியிலிருந்து சென்னை வரையிலும் இந்த காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியினால் கொலை செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்பதை எடுத்துக்காட்டமுடியும். பொது மக்களால் தோற்கடிக்கப்பட்ட கனம் சந்தானத்தை கவர்னராக நியமிக்கப்பட்டிருப்பது ஒன்று; இங்கு செங்கப்பட்டு ஜில்லாவில் பொது மக்களால் தோற்கடிக்கப்பட்ட மாஜி மந்திரி பக்தவத்சலம் அவர்களை மறுபடியும் கவனித்துக் கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருப்பது இரண்டு; கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் தோற்று விட்டார், மறுபடியும் கவனிசலில் அவரை தேர்த்தெடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதனால் அவர் ஜனநாயகத்திற்கு விரோதி என்று இதே காங்கிரஸ் மெம்பர்கள் கூறினார்கள். இப்பொழுது கனம் பக்தவத்சலம் எப்படி வந்திருக்கிறார் என்பதுதான் கிரிபவிலில்லை. ஏற்கனவே இந்த ஜில்லா போர்டு தேர்தலை ஒத்திவைத்ததற்குக் காரணம் ஒன்று சொன்னார்கள். அதாவது போட்டர் ஐப்தா அச்சடிக்கப்படவில்லை என்று காரணம் சொல்லி காலதாமதம் வேண்டுமென்றார்கள். இப்பொழுது போட்டர் ஐப்தா அச்சடித்தாகி விட்டதா என்று கேட்டால் இல்லை யென்றுதான் பதில் வரும். அடுத்தபடியாக இப்பொழுது ஆந்திர பிரிவினை பிரச்சினையை ஒரு காரணமாகக் காட்டி தேர்தலை ஒத்தி வைக்கிறார்கள். ஆந்திரப் பிரிவினைக்கும் தமிழ் நாட்டில் தேர்தல் நடப்பதற்கும் என்ன தடை இருக்கிறது. எல்லைப் பிரிவினை கஷ்டம் இல்லாத இடங்களில் தேர்தலை நடத்தினால் ஒரு தகவரும்

4th April 1953]

[Sri A. Govindaswami Nayar]

இருக்கமுடியாது. ஆந்திர ராஜ்ய பிரிவினையில் எல்லா கட்சிகளும் ஒத்துழைக்கும் சமயத்தில் தேர்தலை வைத்தால் கட்சிகள் பிரிந்து ஒற்றுமை குலைந்துவிடும் என்று கணம் காங்கிரஸ் மெம்பர் சோமயாஜுவை வெகு அழகாக கூறினார். தமிழ் நாட்டில் எல்லைத்தகராறு இல்லாத இடங்களில் ஏன் தேர்தலை நடத்தக்கூடாது என்று கேட்கிறேன். ஆந்திரப் பிரிவினை குழப்பத்தல் தேர்தலை ஒத்திப்போடுகிறார்கள் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இவ்விதம் ஒத்திப்போடுவதால்தான் மேலும் மேலும் குழப்பம் அதிரித்து வருகிறது. அப்படி வரும் குழப்பத்தை மேலும் மேலும் சமாளிக்கும் நிலைமை அரசாங்கத்திற்கு ஏற்படும். இப்பொழுதே நமது கணம் மது விலக்கு மந்திரி V. C. பழனிசாமி கவுண்டர் திருத்தணி சென்று அந்த நடு தாரிமுருக்க சொந்தம் என்கிறார். கணம் வேங்கிடசாமி நாயுடு திருப்பதி தமிழ் நாட்டைச் சேர்ந்தது என்று சொல்லுகிறார். ஒவ்வொரு பக்கத்திலும் பரசாரம் நடந்து வருகிறது. எங்கு சென்றாலும் மந்திரிகள் இடக்கத்தை நடத்திவருகிறார்கள். பற்றும் திரு. கே. விநாயகம் திருத்தணியில் எல்லைப் போராட்டத்தை ஆரம்பிக்கப்போகிறார். இன்னும் மறுபடியும் தேர்தலை ஒத்திப்போட்டால் அபாயம்தான் வரும். இப்பொழுது ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீசர்களை நியமிக்க வேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறார். ஆனால் எவ்வளவு காலத்திற்கு என்று சொல்லவில்லை. ஜனநாயக முறையில் ஆட்சி நடத்துகிறோம் என்று சொல்லுகிறவர்கள் தேர்தல் எப்பொழுதுவரும் என்று சொல்லவில்லை. ஸ்பெஷல் ஆபீசருடைய காலம் எவ்வளவு காலம் என்றும் குறிப்பிடவில்லை. ஏற்கனவே நடந்த அசெம்பிளி கூட்டத்தில் நான் சொன்னேன், தென்னாற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் ஜில்லா போர்டு நிவாகம் வெகு ஊழலாக நடக்கிறது என்றும் ஆசிரியர்களை அனாதையாக மாற்றுகிறார்கள் என்றும் ஆசிரியர்களாக வேலைபார்க்கும் புருஷனையும் மனைவியையும் அனாதையாக பிரித்து விடுகிறார்கள் என்றும் சொன்னேன். பலவித கொடுமைகளை இழைக்கிறார்கள் என்றும் கூறினேன். முதல் மந்திரி அவர்களுக்கும், கல்வி மந்திரி அவர்களுக்கும் ஸ்தலன்தர்பன மந்திரி அவர்களுக்கும் வண்ணப்பூம் மக்களும் கொடுத்தோம். விசாரிப்பதாக கணம் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் கூறினார். இரண்டு நாளில் பதில் வரும் என்று சொன்னார். மொத்தம் ஆறு மாதங்களாகியும் இன்னும் பதில் வரவில்லை. கடந்த தேர்தலில் ஆசிரியர்கள் சரியாக காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுக்கு ஒத்துழைக்காத காரணத்தால் சுமார் 150 ஆசிரியர்களை அனாதையாக மாற்றி விட்டார்கள். தென்னாற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் President தோற்கடிக்கப்பட்டார். அவர் தோற்கடிக்கப்பட்டதால் தேர்தல் காரணமாக அவர்கள் பழி வாங்கப்படுகிறார்கள். இதன் காரணமாக பல பள்ளிக்கூடங்கள் கட்டப்பட்டு திறக்க தயாராக இருந்தும் கூட ஜில்லா போர்டு அவைகளை எடுத்து நடத்த முன்வரவில்லை. கிராமங்களில் ரோடு வசதி இல்லாமலிருக்கிறது. காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் இல்லாத இடங்களில் ரோடுகள் செப்பணிப்படுவதில்லை. ஆஸ்பத்திரிகள் இடக்கின்றன, ஆனால் மருந்து கிடையாது. கட்டடங்கள் இருந்தும் கூட பல இடங்களில் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை முடிவாகுகிறார்கள். இவைகளெல்லாம் அரசாங்கத்திற்கு தெரியாது என்று சொல்ல முடியாது. எங்கள் ஜில்லாவிற்கு முதல் மந்திரி வந்தார். அப்பொழுது அவருக்கு வரவேற்பு பத்திரிகை வாசித்தனிக்கப்பட்டது. கணம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் பதிலளிக்கையில் பிரசிடெண்ட் அவர்களுக்கு அப்பாவி என்ற பட்டம் சூட்டினார்.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The hon. Member may continue his speech on Monday. The House will now adjourn and meet again at 8-30 a.m. on Monday, 6th April 1953.”

The House then adjourned.